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Moreover, since the social and political systems of both worlds are much the same, the officials of this world during their term of office have certain powers in the next. The emperor in particular might canonize virtuous dead, decree that worship be paid them and even establish them as gods. He also rewarded and promoted those gods who had notably benefited the people. Since the republic the national legislature has exercised the same prerogative in at least one instance, that of Yo Fei, who has been made something very like a god of war and coupled with Kuan Ti. The officials report not only to their worldly, but to their ghostly superiors, and they have power to punish recalcitrant deities who are below them in rank.

For instance, in time of drought the official of a Fu district may officially try and condemn the god of a Hsien district included in the Fu, for not sending the needed rain, and as a punishment the god may be carried out into the hot sun or publicly beaten in the person of his image.

The religious duties of officials would make an interesting subject in itself. Formerly the emperor sacrificed to heaven and earth, while the provincial officials sacrificed to the local deities, such as the gods of mountains and streams.

Just as the emperor represented the nation and performed certain duties for it and in its name, so did the officials represent the constituencies under them. And as the emperor took the blame for any national calamity upon himself, so the officials ascribed any general disaster within their jurisdiction to their own lack of virtue. This responsibility was often taken in great seriousness. The officials regularly sacrificed in the local temples, reporting current events to the appropriate god. I have not come across any instance, however, of an official sacrificing as an official in a definitely Buddhist or Taoist temple, though it would be rash to say it has never been done. The temples in which they do worship will be considered later. In times of trouble, the official was responsible for securing spiritual as well as material help. He was responsible for calling fasts, processions and special sacrifices when the occasion demanded, and he must head the list of contributors if funds were need for the repair of temples. The journey to the top of the Great Dragon

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Mountain under the terrible summer sun, described later in this paper, would be a very serious and difficult feat for an elderly man, and another conscientious official of Anking worried himself to death because he could not prevent a plague of locusts. There seem to have been a good many officials appointed under the old examination system who were a credit to their country and their profession. Many of them after death, or even before, have received sacrifices as a reward for their former service and devotion, but a living official would not receive worship until he had been transfered to another position.

And not only do the virtues displayed in this life increase the power of the individual in the next, but the manner of death is of great importance. As death is naturally dreaded, a voluntary surrender of life, especially when in the interest of the people or in defense of some moral principle, shows the possession of a great spirit and insures power in the spirit world. Such suicides nearly always receive wor ship, even from those to whom they had lately been opposed politically. For instance, about 1360 the Mongols were driven from Anking by the Chinese armies, and the Mongol governor, his officials, wife and children committed suicide. The first Ming emperor, Hung Wu, not only canonized him but erected a temple in his honor. It does not seem as if this were propitiatory, for victors have frequently violated the graves of their enemies (De Groot gives instances of revenge by punishing corpses, *Rel. Sys. of China*, vol. I, p. 343 ff.).

Of the processes of nature that which most suggests a transference to the spirit world is burning. Fire appears to be thinner and more volatile than air, and the object burned seems to disappear. It is natural then to assume that men may gratify the wants of the dead or send prayers to a god by burning appropriate objects, for fire translates things to the spirit world. Possibly well educated men regard the process as symbolic, but the majority take it literally. However, the Chinese do not believe that everything which may be consumed by fire thereby becomes spiritual, which might be consistent but would be rather inconvenient.

Paper money, servants, horses, houses and such things are offered to dead men but not to gods, for whom petitions are written upon red or yellow

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paper and burned before the altar or in the courtyard of the temple, the flames carrying the prayer direct to the god addressed. The written word has itself a spiritual value. Every Chinese city has public fireplaces and men are employed to collect waste printed matter and burn it, though this may be only an act of reverence. Wether the idea of transference to the spirit world applies to incense is doubtful. The Chinese make few burnt offerings of animals. There are some instances, as in the sacrifices at the Temple of Heaven, but those things offered to Earth are not burnt. The Li Chi mentions both burnt and unburnt offerings, and the sacrifice may or may not be bloody.

There is no definite line between the worship or reverence paid to ancestors, to the virtuous and distinguished dead, and to gods, for they grade into one another so that any division is arbitrary. Men dead are pleased much as men living, and gods are very like men in their tastes. An instance of this may be seen at the annual ceremony of sending the Kitchen-God to heaven, which takes place in every home on the 23rd of the 12th month. Following the other rites, a plate of chopped straw and beans is taken into the open and its contents thrown upon the roof so that the god's horse will have something to eat on its long journey.

Some gods, Shang Ti for example, maintain a supernatural origin, but most of the seats on the Chinese Olympus are filled by deified heroes. The majority of these heroes are relatively recent historical characters, like Kuan Ti, a general of the 3rd century A. D., the facts of whose life are well known. A few claim ancient origin, like the mythological emperors Huang Ti and Shen Nung and the Taoist gods of the five mountains, who were generals at the time of the founding of the Chou Dynasty, some are said to have been men, like the City-God, but their status is difficult to determine, while others died as recently as the Sung Dynasty. It generally takes some hundreds of years for a man to attain a pure godhead, even though he may be worshipped immediately after his decease.

Many old gods no longer have worshippers and their places are filled by upstarts. Cults arise and die away, only remembered as their names occur in literature and history. Mountains and rivers survive, but the names of

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their deities change and are forgotten. Temples decay, cities are ruined, tombs desecrated and the names of states vanish or linger on in villages and literary titles. So also the fate of the gods changes; they flourish and are abandoned by their worshippers. If they represent some permanent force of nature they are revived with different names. Even a god may not control his destiny.

Polytheism is the natural result of an attempt to personify the phenomena of nature. A mountain is not a river and if both are to have spirits connected with them, it is much more consistent to have two spirits than to have one. Sometimes the forces appear actually antagonistic, as fire and water. Similarly, one city cannot be identified with another, and the shoemakers would prefer a different patron from the barbers. Shang Ti may be inclusive in the sense that heaven covers all below, but he is not and can hardly be exclusive, in the sense that there is no other god. The same is true of the combination Heaven-Earth, whether that is monotheistic, according to Legge, or dualistic, as De Groot thinks. An attempt to describe nature in terms of purpose, may consistently end in a multitude of gods, or at most in henotheism. It is unlikely, to put the matter mildly, that any Chinese, no matter how strong his feeling for Shanq Ti,[1] ever denied the existence of lesser gods — except of course pure materialists or the followers of some foreign religion like Christianity or Islam. That is, the religion of the Chinese people was never monotheistic. The emperor worshipped Shang Ti, but the people worshipped and propitiated the multitude of forces, variant, opposed, beneficent or harmful, which confront man in his daily life, and these forces appear, not as one, but as many personalities.

Two factors determine the popularity of a nature god, the need for what he gives, and the uncertainty of his giving it. Men need air, but there is no god of air, because it can always be obtained without supernatural aid. It is not so with rain, and the cult of the rain god is universal. The popularity of other gods is not always so easy to explain, for instance, the God of War, who is universally worshipped by a peace loving people, possibly because he is the hero of the most popular Chinese novel, "The Three Kingdoms"

1 [Errata: Should be Shang. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 — Analyst]

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776 But as the soul is not the same as the body it inhabits, so the god is not identical with that he personifies, nor limited or confined to it. The Fire God is not fire, nor the Thunder God, thunder. A god may represent and dwell in a mountain, a city or a country district, but he may also leave that place, perhaps for ever. This is also true of the relation between a god and his image and temple (SOOTHILL, *Three Religions of China*, p. 129). Moreover, the god must have manifested his power if he were to have worshippers. Sacrifices were not offered for nothing, and a god was judged by his performances. When it was obvious that he had answered prayers in some notable manner, the local official reported the matter to Peking, the Board of Rites investigated, and on their recommendation the emperor bestowed a title on the god, promoted him in rank, or presented him with a Pien Eh, or inscribed tablet. I do not know of any titles given under the republic, but I have seen a Pien Eh presented by Shu Shih Chang while president of China. This relation between the god and his habitat, combined with the requirement that he show his ability, may be illustrated by an amusing incident which recently occurred in Anking.

776 Outside the Ling Hu Gate was a small shrine to a local earth god, one of
778 the numerous altars found in the country and called T'u Ti Tsi. The monks of a near by Buddhist temple within the walls determined to exploit it, probably for business reasons. They advertised that this local shrine had become the home of a god with great healing powers. Elaborate services were held, crowds assembled, miracles were said to have been performed and offerings were many, but an unfortunate accident ruined the venture. A sick man was brought by his family, and for medicine ate the ashes from incense burned before the god. Alas, the god was so careless as to allow the patient to die. His relatives then went to the shrine and cursed the god so badly to his face, that he left the spot and could or would not perform more acts of healing. The place is now deserted, for as the Chinese say, it has no longer any " Ling ", or efficacy.

796 The power of these gods is strictly limited, although they are sometimes
796 addressed in language implying universal authority. The worship paid to

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different gods is very much the same — I am speaking of indigenous deities chiefly — but the times differ, and the principal festival of each cult is on the birthday of its god. The temples may or may not have special services on the great Chinese feast days, like the Ch'ing Ming, the Dragon Boat Festival, the Middle of the Seventh Month and the Mid Autum Festival. Each god has his special functions but there are no patent rights, and almost anyone may be petitioned for children, for example. The essential elements in worship seem to be prayer, bowing or prostration, incense and candles. The various offerings, none of which are always present, will be mentioned later.

A god manifests himself in various ways. Frequently he appears in visions and dreams. He may answer prayer in a natural way, as when a swarm of locusts is eaten by birds and frogs. He may inspire men to work together for a common end, or move an individual to sacrifice himself for the general good. Unusual natural phenomena of almost any kind show the presence of a god or indicate his will. Such are thunder and lightning, the flight of birds, floods, plague and drought. Another way is to sacrifice and then use various devices for telling fortunes, like drawing lots, or observing the position in which two curved sticks fall. The natural explanation of eclipses has been known since early times, and I do not know of any use made of the organs of animals in determining the future. The ancients used tortoise shells. In general, anything which seems to be beyond the control of man is held to show the power of some god, provided the occurrence is irregular enough to attract attention. When prayer is unanswered the god is either angry or impotent.

This investigation is in general limited to those gods who are found in the temples of Anking. Little will be said, therefore, about divinities like the Kitchen-God, or the peculiar cults of other localities, such as the worship of T'ien Hou in the province of Fukien. Then there are other gods, like Shang Ti, whose worship was the prerogative of the emperor, and whose temples are found only in Peking. In Anking I have been unable to find any temple god whose activities were unmistakably malevolent, so that although

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776 these gods may become angry because of neglect or a lack of virtue among the people and officials, their general attitude is beneficent.

These gods may be divided into six classes.

1. The gods of localities, such as the T'u Ti, or Earth Gods.
2. Gods of natural forces, such as fire and rain.
3. Gods of artificial processes, like weaving and carpentry.
4. Deified heroes.
5. Gods of political and social units, like the Fu and Hsien " Wall and Moat " Gods.
6. Gods who represent general ideas, such as war, literature and happiness.

776 779 These classes are not mutually exclusive, so that a famous general may be the god of war or a great writer the god of literature. And it may be said that when a man has become conspicuous for certain abilities or virtues during his life, he is apt to be worshipped as the god of those qualities in the abstract after his death. As was said before, a large majority in the Chinese pantheon were once human individuals. The most frequent petition seems to be for offspring. In general, any unit, social, political and natural, has a god as the symbol of the uniting force. They are often regarded as the ancestors of their followers, as Lo Tsu is the ancestor of the barbers, (GAMBLE, *Peking Social Survey*, p. 434), and they are the source of the peculiar blessings and arts of which they are the personification.

771 776 The introduction to Section 9 of the Huailing Hsien Chih,[1] on temples, gives a good idea of the attitude of educated Chinese toward religion.

" Concerning sacrifices.

" It is impossible to explain why people say that there are gods and devils, but we know that virtuous kings established sacrifices. Those who have given good laws to the people ought to have sacrifices offered to them. Those who have loved their country all their lives should be worshipped. So also those who have prevented danger and trouble, whether from nature or from men. These things are unchangeable forever. (*Li Ki*, Bk. 20, Sect. 9).

" It is necessary that a city should have a governor; the men who fill

[1] [Errata: should be Chih. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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the office change, but the office remains. In the same way we speak of the gods of the wind, clouds, thunder and rain, moutains, rivers and cities. We do not know their names, and they are not all one god, but we have certain days on which to make sacrifices to them. 771 776

" Certain people at certain times worship a certain god, and make that god famous, but if the worshippers and the sacrifices are few, the name of that god becomes less. Chu Hsu could only show himself once, in a vision, during the time of the Eastern Han, when he was angry with Wang, Feng and Wu of the Six Dynasties, but the deeds of T'ien Hou are not limited to the world of the dead, and the superiority of Kuan Kung is like that of a great official. From this we know that even the gods themselves cannot control their fortunes, so that some have a great number of worshippers, while others have but few. Yet although these ceremonies seem foolish to men of education, they control the minds of the many. They are in accord with the principles of religion and can help the laws of the government. Therefore we have gathered here the temples to those gods that are mentioned in the calendar of sacrifices, as well as others commonly worshipped by the people.

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These seem to be the Gods of Literature.

Celestial Warriors.

[facing p. 24]

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presented to me by the editor-in-chief, Mr. Hsu, who was kind enough later to clear up several difficult points for me.

Huailing Hsien is much older than the city of Anking. In ancient times it was a part of a district called Wan or Hsu. The name Huailing first appears in the Chin Dynasty (about 380 A. D.) was continued under the T'ang, and is still used. Wan, or Wan Chiang, survives as the literary name of Anhui.

The Huailing Hsien Chih gives accounts of 123 temples within the city, varying in length from one or two sentences to several pages. I have found two temples not listed, which were evidently too recent to be included in the last edition, which appeared in 1915. The complete list is given in Appendix 3. It does not include public halls (Kung T'an), charitable organizations, or the provincial and trade gild halls, with one exception, the Fukien Gild, which is entered as the T'ien Hou Kung. (Temple of the Queen of Heaven.) All these contain chapels or altars. Moreover, all permanent homes have their ancestral tablets with an altar before them, and a picture or image of the Kitchen-God. Images of the God of Wealth and of trade gods are found in shops and in the meeting places of business organizations, but none of these are classed by the Chinese as temples. The numerous shrines to Earth-Gods (T'u Ti), which are scattered throughout the city and still more over the country districts, are mentioned but not enumerated.

Practically all the temples of the city were destroyed in 1854 by the T'aip'ings, who were opposed to image worship, or during the ensuing years of rebellion. When peace was restored the temples were rebuilt, but on a less pretentious scale. Nearly every temple history records that the place was destroyed by fire in the 3rd year of Hsien Feng and rebuilt during the reign of T'ung Chih. Thirteen temples are listed which do not now exist, and thirteen more are now put to various non-religious uses, from schools to carpenter shops. The halls of the three state temples, which are only used twice a year, are usually occupied by spinners of silk thread. There does not seem to be anything particularly sacred about a temple building or

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not on exhibition. This poverty is largely due to the T'aip'ings. However, there are in places stone tablets carved with inscriptions which are of some value historically. They are usually placed against the walls of the courtyards.

An interesting question which I have never seen discussed is the relation of the theater to religion in China. Four temples in Anking, those of the Tung Yo, the Fire God and the Fu and Hsien City-Gods, have stages over the entrance, facing the main hall across a courtyard. Plays were formerly given there at the New Year and the birthday of the god, but the custom seems to have died out or been forbidden by the officials because of the disorder it created. These plays were not religious, though gods sometimes appeared among the dramatis personae. I do not believe that there are any extant plays with a religious purpose. The ordinary explanation is that the plays were given in honor of the god, that he might enjoy them as any spectator would, and be amused, but this is superficial, of course. How did these plays come to be connected with religion, not only in the temples, but in the trade and provincial gilds? Why do some temples have them and others not? Why is a theatrical performance part of the harvest festival in the country, and why are prayers offered before the play? Such questions will probably await a closer study of the T'ang, Sung and Yuen Dynasties, when so many new ideas were introduced into China.

The images of the better known gods may be identified in various ways, which I will try to describe in considering them individually. They differ in posture, dress, sex, facial expression, color, the implements they bear, their position in the temple, their attendants, occupation, and in other ways. Some would be hard to make sure of if taken from their temples. However, in all but Buddhist temples, and sometimes even there, the gods have their names written on tablets, much like those in ancestral halls, which are placed before their images. Occasionally pictures take the place of images on the altar. I have never seen the image of an animal in a Chinese temple, though the Chinese have "Fox Temples", and a few images have animal faces, and I understand that temples in the province of Kuantung have animal images.

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• 78

A Demon King.

Perhaps the City-God. Although the Head-dress Belongs to the Chou Period.

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792 794 778 The temples and their priests are supported from various sources. Some are endowed and receive income from land. Some depend upon certain individuals and families. Many monks engage in business, selling charms, souvenirs, and conducting tea houses and hotels. Masses for the dead and special services are very lucrative, as is organized begging, which is from house to house and not done on the street. For improvements the monks have to depend upon sporadic gifts. For instance, a few years ago one of the river steamers sank following a collision and three hundred lives were lost. A wealthy Anking man had intended to take that boat, but was warned in a dream and so saved his life. In gratitude he gave several thousand dollars to the Yin Chiang Ta, which was used to repair the pagoda. The three state temples are state supported, but repairs are made by contributions to the K'ung Chiao Huei (Confucian Society), to which all the officials belong. The cost of the sacrifices there is paid from the taxes, but no other temples receive public funds, at least not officially. It may be said that no temples except those belonging to particular families rely upon periodic contributions from a regular clientele, as do most Christian churches. The 358 778 result is that the fortunes of individual temples vary considerably. Probably as a result of political conditions, the appearance and general upkeep of Chinese temples, at least in the provinces, cannot compare with those of the shrines of Japan. Grass grows in the courts, dust clouds the gilded images, tiles are missing from the roofs and the huge columns are devoured by ants, yet even in decay their beauty is impressive, especially under the moonlight, which brings back the appearance of former splendour.

778 441 776 Certain temples are used as meeting places by trade gilds, the image of the trade god being placed on a side altar. A list of the gods worshipped by different trades is given in Appendix 6. As far I have discovered them, the following temples are used by gilds.

Temple of the Fire God (Ho Shen Miao), — Fortune Tellers'and Barbers' Gilds.

Temple of the God of Wealth, (Tsai Shen Miao), — Money Changers'and Cloth Merchants' Gilds.

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778 Temple of the God of Thunder, (Lei Tzu Miao), — Cooks', Confectioners' and Shoemakers' Gilds.

441 The Hsun Yang Tao Yuen, whose god is Li Lao Chun or Lao Tzi, —
776 Silver and Copper Smiths' Gilds. There is also an association called the Central City Merchants' Gild which meets there.

Hsien Yuen Miao, whose god is Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor. This temple is owned by the Tailors' Gild and no one else worships there.

Lu Pan Miao, — Carpenters', Painters', Plasterers' and other Gilds of the building trade.

Ho Shen Tsi, — Gild of Barbers' Apprentices, a recently formed gild.

Temple of the God of Medicine, (Yo Wang Miao), — Doctors' and Medicine Dealers' Gilds.

Lung Wang Miao — Water Carriers' Gild.

779 When one attempts to classify the temples of Anking difficulties arise. The usual treatment of Chinese religion, taken from Chinese sources it is true, is to divide everything religious between Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. Confucianism has generally included ancestor worship and the state or official religion; Buddhism seems to be fairly definite, at least in so far as the god, book or custom may be traced to India, and everything that is left is called Taoism. It is obvious that much of this remainder has little or no connection with anything that can be traced to Lao Tzi or his spiritual descendants, but we blanket the whole by saying that Taoism has degenerated and is now covered by a mass of superstition.

776 Of course it is a matter of definition, but I believe that after deducting
779 certain deities that are undeniably Taoist, like P'an Ku and Yu Huang Shang Ti, there remain a large number of gods whose cults it is better to treat individually and not as parts of any religion. For instance, take the City-God. He is part of the state religion, which is Confucian, in some respects, because the officials formerly reported regularly to him as they did to the emperor, and from the most ancient times it has been the custom for provincial officials to worship local deities. His temple shows Buddhist influences derived through Taoism in the Ten Hells of Yen Lo (Yama), and he is often men-

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tioned as a Taoist god. Yet he is more than all this; he is the personification of the city, and of the loyalty of the people to the place in which they live. In reality he does not owe his origin to any of the Three Religions, but if he must be classed under any religion, it should be animism. This lumping of all the gods together has resulted in the neglect of them individually by many scholars.

The Huai Ling Hsien Chih does not classify any of the temples as Buddhist, Taoist or Confucian. It might be supposed that this was because everyone knew which was which, but in the majority of cases this is not true. Again and again I have inquired of the most responsible persons I could find on the premises whether a temple was Buddhist or Taoist, and seldom could I get a clear answer. The temple is considered to belong to a certain god, not to an organized religion of which the god is a part.

In Buddhism we find a more or less definite and well arranged system of deities, who meet together under their leaders and discuss matters of general import, such as the Trojan War was debated by the Greek gods. The Taoists have imitated the Buddhists in this, as in other things, and in the Feng Shen Yen, a Taoist romance, for instance, the chief Taoist divinity holds a levee and appoints minor gods to their various positions. I do not believe, however, that this represents the real attitude of the Chinese toward their indigenous deities. As in Greek religion, Homer might write of celestial meetings presided over by Zeus, but in practice, when a man worshipped at Delphi, it was not the occupant of a chair upon Olympus in consultation with Ares, Athena and other equals. His mind was filled with the thought of Apollo, and of Apollo only. The native Chinese gods struggling with foreign faiths, have never developed as far toward henotheism as did the Greeks. The Fire-God and the Rain-God and the City-God are not members of a heavenly association which meets more or less regularly at the call of its chairman. On the contrary the cults are separate, even as the natural forces and objects which the gods represent are separate; separate in origin and in the minds of their devotees, though speculation may occasionally connect them in fanciful stories.

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Beside One of the Hells.

The Horse Face Servant and a Secretary.

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ments. This last honor was given because of his assistance in putting down the T'ai P'ing rebellion. Doré gives eleven names by which he is known. At present his official title is Kuan Shen Ti Chun, which may be translated as " The Holy God Kuan, the Commander ".

His temples are very numerous and are not limited to those of the state. Besides being the god of war, he is worshipped as a god of literature and riches, and as the patron saint of the provinces of Kuang Tung, Kuangsi, Hupeh, and together with Wen Chang, of Chekiang. It is not likely that this list is exhaustive. Richard (Calendar of the Gods), gives his festivals as the 13th of the 5th month (his birthday), the 24th of the 6th, and the 5th of the 9th. His son, Kuan P'ing, and five attendants, are also worshipped. Doré says that incense is burnt on his altar on the 15th of the month, but I cannot find that this is done in Anking, or that sacrifices are made except those of the state, which are on the 15th of the 2nd month and the 15th of the 9th. Kuan Ti is said to be very popular in Korea.

The second of the two heroes, Yo Fei (1103-1141), was distinguished as a general and a patriot during the reign of Sung Kao Tsung. After displaying abilities in quelling insurrections and in resisting the Golden Tartars which might have proved the salvation of his country, he fell a victim to the intrigues of the infamous court favorite, Ch'in Kuei. On his back were found written the words, " Loyal to the last ". His honors were restored in 1162 and more added in 1179. The national parliament raised him to an equal rank with Kuan Ti, and they receive sacrifices at the same altar (GILES, p. 949).

Yo Fei is the hero of a popular novel and of a play, at whose performance it is not uncommon for the whole audience to burst into tears. There is a story that once a spectator, overcome with excitement, leaped upon the stage and killed the unfortunate actor playing the part of the villain, Ch'in Kuei.

The temple of the two great soldiers is called the Kuan Yo Miao, or the temple of Kuan and Yo. The Hsien Chih says that formerly the temple was small, but in the reign of Ming Wan Li (1573-1620), it was enlarged and a record made. The T'ai P'ings burned it, but it was restored under T'ung

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Chih. There were two other temples to Kuan Ti in Anking, one of which was built by the " Blue Company " of soldiers, but they have been destroyed.

The Kuan Yo Miao is similar in plan to the Wen Miao, but there are no porches in the second court, and the whole is on a much smaller scale. Before the gateway is the " Spirit Wall " and entrance is made through two P'ai Lou at the sides. Over the eastern arch are the words, " Tan Hsin Kuan Erh " (A loyal-literally, red-heart is like the sun), while over the western is, " Ta Yi Tsan T'ien " (Great righteousness is the equal of heaven). Above the gate are the words, " Kuan Yo Miao ".

The main altar in the great hall is much less elaborate than that in the Confucian temple. On it are two tablets. That on the east reads, " Kuan Chuang Liao Hou Chih Shen Wei " (The seat of the spirit of Kuan). Chuang Liao Hou constitute a title modifying Kuan, brave and faithful marquis. The western tablet bears the inscription, " Yo Chung Wu Wang Chih Shen Wei " (The seat of the spirit of Yo, the prince of loyal soldiers). Until recently there were pictures of the two heroes behind their tablets. Against the side walls are two lesser altars, that on the east having eleven tablets, and that on the west, twelve, each bearing the name of a famous general, with the words, " The seat of the spirit of the loyal soldier and general ". There is one Pien, I could not discover from whom, which hangs above the main altar, and bears the words, " Wan Szu Jen Chi " (The greatest men of ten thousand generations). The choice of names on the side altars seems peculiar, not so much because of the ones included, as of those omitted. All are contemporary or later than Kuan Kung, and so the great generals of the Fighting States and the Han dynasty are absent, but it is strange that there are no names of the Manchu dynasty. The most remarkable fact is the inclusion of two pure Mongols, evidently placed there by Yuen emperors and never removed. Well, if any people ever deserved representatives beside the god of war, it was the Mongols. The list of names, with a few facts about each, is given in Appendix 5.

The Huai Ling Hsien Chih says that the rear hall was called the San Yi Tsi (Temple of the Three Righteous Ones), who were the brothers of the

[Errata: should be Shih. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 --Analyst]

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BUDDHIST TEMPLES

It is probable that no eastern religion has been more thoroughly investigated by western scholars than Buddhism, and a volume might be devoted merely to a bibliography upon the subject. Yet the literature in English and other European languages is nothing compared to the volumes of Chinese books, not to mention those in other Asiatic tongues. The work which might be done in the investigation of Buddhism is endless. In this brief essay, then, I shall do no more than give a rough sketch of the two representative Buddhist temples in Anking, which will enable me to mention the most characteristic gods of the Chinese form of Mahayana Buddhism.

The Huai Ling Hsien Chih mentions forty-five temples which may be definitely classified as Buddhist because in them are the images of unmistakably Hindu gods. For it should be remembered that while Chinese Buddhism will place the image of almost any deity in its temples, the place of honor is always reserved for the foreign gods. I do not think it correct to call any temple Buddhist which does not have Hindu deities present, even though Buddhist monks are employed as caretakers, as is frequently the case in non-Buddhist temples. These forty-five temples are nearly all refered to as Tzi or An, and as nearly as I can discover, twenty-five are under the care of monks (Ho Shan), and twenty of nuns (Ni Ku). Although the number of temples is large, only two are of any size, the Yin Chiang Tzi and the Ti Tsang An. The others are small, one-room buildings, often very difficult to

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778 346 "It was redecorated in the time of T'ung Chih and again under the republic."

Four years ago a river steamer was deliberately rammed by a gunboat and several hundred lives lost. A wealthy man of Anking was warned by Kuanyin in a dream not to take the boat, and so saved his life. In gratitude he gave several thousand dollars to the Yin Chiang Tzi, which were used to put the pagoda in good condition. Recently the governor, Ma Lien Chia, gave 10.000 dollars, which has been used to erect a chapel containing an altar to Kuanyin with the most elaborate wood carving I have seen. The courtesans of Anking are said to have contributed also. On festival nights the pagoda is hung with colored electric lights.

The temples of the Ch'an School are built on a plan which unfolds to the worshipper the gradual scheme of salvation and the degrees of enlightenment. The Yin Chiang temple has two halls, separated by a court, and surrounding these on all sides but the front are the monks' quarters, while behind the pagoda is a public tea house where vegetarian meals are served. The buildings face the south, though it is not obligatory, and the Ti Tsang An, for instance, faces eastward. The library, school and Hall of Meditation are on the east, but these and various other rooms do not belong to the temple proper. The second hall of the temple is on a terrace fifteen feet above the first, but this also is not necessary, and there are no dragon steps. Outside the gate are two large, iron anchors, which embody the old belief that the city is a boat, of which the pagoda is the mast, and that when the anchors are removed the boat will float away. I have been told similar legends are often found in Korea.

346 778 771 The first hall represents the heavens on and above Mt. Meru, whose inhabitants, while they are in bliss, are still subject to rebirth. Here are the Four Lords of Heaven, Sanscrit, Lokapolas (Szi T'ien Wang), east, west, south and north, placed two on each side. The images are gigantic, the faces fierce, and they are painted in different colors, the prevailing one in each being that appropriate to its locality, blue, red, white and black. These spirit kings guard the entrances to Mt. Meru (DORÉ, vol. VII, p. 394 f).

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In the center of the hall is a platform divided by a screen. Facing the entrance is the image of Mi Leh (Sanscrit, Maitreya), whose form is probably more familiar to foreigners than that of any other Chinese god. He is a very fat man, with shaved head and huge, bare stomach, sitting with one knee raised. He is always represented laughing, and in temples his image is gilded (Doré, vol. VI, p. 103, f). The Chinese usually refer to him as a Fu (Buddha), but strictly speaking he is a P'usa (Bodhisattva), who waits in heaven until the time for his next incarnation as a man, when he will become a Buddha proper. A Bodhisattva is one who has reached complete enlightenment, but rejects Buddhahood in order that he may minister to his fellow men. However, the Chinese use the technical Buddhist terms very loosely, and P'usa is commonly used for any image, Buddhist or otherwise.

On the other side of the screen, facing the court, is the most picturesque of Buddhist divinities, Wei T'o, who is represented in full golden armour, with draperies flying from his shoulders and hand on sword. He is the knight of heaven, commander of the celestial hosts under the four kings, and he is the special protector of monasteries. In this capacity he is worshipped when the monastery is in need of funds, and begging monks carry his image strapped on their backs. In images used for this purpose, the sword is absent and the hands are pressed together in prayer (Doré, vol. VII, p. 317 *f*). In his zeal for righteousness, Wei T'o is apt to be too severe and strike down the guilty sinner without giving him a chance for repentence. Therefore, he is placed so that he looks across the court and through the doorway of the second hall, gazing always upon the face of the compassionate Buddha.

There is an admirable study of Wei T'o by M. Noel Peri in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 110.

The second hall represents the more advanced stages on the road to Buddhahood. Over the entrance are the words nearly always used in Buddhist temples, " Ta Hsiung Pao Tien " (Precious Hall of the Great Hero). This hall may contain the images of any number of indigenous gods like Kuan Ti, and Brahmanic deities like Fan (Brahma himself), and Yu Ti (Indra), who

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is sometimes confused with another god having a very similar name, who may also be present, the Taoist Yu Huang Ti (Pearly Emperor). But these divinities are shown as worshipping or attending the Hindu Buddhist gods. Indeed, it is difficult to say exactly whom the smaller images in the great hall of a temple represent, for the monks themselves often do not know. I have not found Brahma or Indra in any Anking temple (DORÉ, vol. VII. p. 324 *f.*).

Against the side walls of the main hall are the eighteen Lo Han (Arhats), nine on each side. In Hinayana Buddhism the Arhat, or saint, was the highest state a man could reach before becoming a Buddha, but in the Mahayana it is inferior to the Bodhisattva. There are various lists of Lo Han, and the oldest contain but sixteen names. The first list of eighteen appears to be that of the T'ang poet and painter, Kuan Hsiu (832-912). The names vary in different accounts and have never been exactly determined, for although the emperor Ch'ien Lung in 1757 endeavored to settle the matter, his arrangement has never been generally accepted. The number eighteen seems to be of Chinese origin, but it also occurs in Tibetan lists. It seems to me that the reason for the two added names may lie in I Tsing's account of the eighteen schools of Buddhism *(Records of Buddhist Religion*, p. 14). He visited India in 617, and says that the division into schools took place after the death of Asoka (about 230 B. C.). It may have been felt that the number eighteen was more appropriate because of the eighteen schools of thought. The most familiar name in the lists is that of Rahula, the son of Sakyamuni, who is the patron of novices. Adequate accounts of these Lo Han are given in Watters' "The Eighteen Lohan of Chinese Buddhist Temples", and in Doré (vol. VII, p. 350 *f.*). Some temples have twenty-four deva kings in place of the Lo Han, but this variation does not occur in Anking.

The lines of Lo Han end at the rear wall, and next them are two altars which are usually dedicated to the four great Bodhisattvas of Chinese Buddhism, Kuanyin, Ti T'ang, Wen Shu and P'u Hsien. At Yin Chiang Tzi the arrangement is a little different, Kuanyin and Ti Tsang being omitted.

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On the west are Wen Shu and an image which seems to represent Ta Mo (Bodhidharma), the twenty-eighth Indian patriarch, who came to China in 520, and is recognized as the first Chinese patriarch (EITEL, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 33). Kuanyin and Ti Tsang appear in other parts of the monastery, but are absent from the temple proper. Bodhisattvas always wear lotus hats, and are usually gilded.

The place of honor in the great hall is held by three huge images, exactly alike, of Buddhas (Chinese, Fu). They are gilded, expressionless, sitting in the attitude of contemplation, their shaven heads covered with blue snails. Two disciples, Ananda and Kasyapa, wait on the central image. In the Yin Chiang Tzi these figures are enclosed in glass. The figure on the east is the Healing Buddha, Yo Szi Fu (Bhaishajyaguru), that on the west, O Mi T'o (Amitabha), while in the centre is Shih Chia Mo Ni (SAKYAMUNI, *the Historic Buddha*). Sometimes these images are referred to as the Buddhas of the past, present and future. Amitabha is the god of the Western Heaven and has so seized on the imaginations of the Chinese that in all the Buddhist schools the ordinary greeting between monks is " O Mi T'o Fu ", for the mere repetition of the name insures entrance to the heaven. The abstraction of Nirvana is replaced by the more comprehensible and popular Western Heaven. Full descriptions of these Buddhas are given in Doré (vol. VI, chap. III). This triad receives most of the worship offered, and a light is kept burning before their altar. In fact, where this triad is present, the services are nearly always directed to them, though I have seen Wei T'o worshipped, and incense is burned before the other images. The Bodhisattvas are usually worshipped in chapels devoted to them. When there is a door in the rear wall, an image of Kuanyin is placed facing it, standing back to back with the Buddhas with a screen between, but this arrangement is not found in Anking.

In the southeastern corner of the hall is an immense bell associated with Ti Tsang, and in the southwestern, a large drum bearing the Yin and Yang symbol. There are also the usual musical instruments, bells, metal plates, wooden " Fish Head " gongs, and others. Streamers inscribed with

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the names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, prefaced with the words, "Na Mo" (Reverence), and elaborate lanterns, hang from the beams, while prayer mats are arranged in order on the floor. The hall is always full of the odour of incense. Prayers are offered and sutras read fifteen times a day, but I will not attempt to go into the ritual of the various regular and occasional services.

The Ti Tsang An is a smaller and more recent establishment than the Yin Chiang Tzi, and the Hsien Chih contains practically no information about it. It contains ten monks and no nuns. It is in much better condition than the larger monastery, new and clean, the monks appear more intelligent, and the atmosphere more religious. Its present prosperity is largely due to the generosity of a man named Ho, who is well known in Buddhist circles for his charities. The temple stands beside a lake outside the West Gate, and there is a lovely grove of bamboos behind it on the hillside.

The Ti Tsang An belongs to the Pure Land School (Ching T'u), and the arrangement of images is somewhat different from that at the Yin Chiang Tzi. In the entrance hall behind the image of Maitreya, and overshadowing it, is the patron of the monastery, Ti Tsang, wearing the lotus hat of a Bodhisattva, and attended by two disciples, a father and son, bearing the crozier and jewel associated with him. In the great hall, instead of the three Buddhas, there is the favorite triad of the Pure Land School, Amitabha in the center, flanked by the Bodhisattvas Kuanyin (Avalokitesvara), and Ta Shih Chih (Mahastama), both of whom seem to be men here, though they are usually represented as women. They were men originally. All are standing, with right hands stretched downward, palms outward, in the attitude of saving souls. The other images in the temple present no unusual or interesting features.

While it is impossible to consider these gods in detail, I should say a few words about the Bodhisattvas. There are in China four mountains of especial holiness to the Buddhist, Wu T'ai in Shansi, O Mei in Szechuan, P'u T'o, an island in the Chusan group off the coast of Chekiang, and Chiu Hua in Anhui. These should not be confused with the five Taoist moun-

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tains to be mentioned later. Each mountain has its patron Bodhisattva, Wen Shu (Manjusri), in Wu T'ai, P'u Hsien (Samantabhadra), in O Mei, Kuan Shih Yin or Kuanyin (Avalokitesvara), in P'u T'o, and Ti Tsang (Kshitigarbha), in Chiu Hua. The last two mountains are dealt with in some detail by Johnston in " Buddhist China ".

It is likely that Kuanyin is more generally popular in China than any other Bodhisattva, but she has attracted an amount of notice from foreigners out of proportion to her relative importance, and the others have been neglected. As a matter of fact, the popularity of different gods varies in different localities, and usually varies inversely as the distance from some famous shrine. Whether it has been the nearness of P'u T'o to the centers of foreign influence and its easy accessibility, or the popularity of the cult of Kuanyin among women, who are more openly religious than men, or the fascinating question, how the god of Tibet became the goddess of China and Japan, it is certain that Kuanyin has been more thoroughly studied than any other Buddhist divinity. Many sinologues have taken their fling at her, and a resume of their work, as well as that of Chinese scholars, may be found in Doré (vol. VI, p. 200 *ff*). The facts seem to be that under the T'angs and before as originally in India, Kuanyin was always a man, while from the Yuen dynasty on she has usually been represented as a woman, though not invariably so. What happened during the Sung period we do not know, and may never discover. What part the Taoist Queen of Heaven (T'ien Hou), the Hindu goddess Hariti, the Chinese princess Miao Shen, and the Son-Giving Mother (Sun Tzi Niang Niang), may have had in the transformation, we cannot say.

Wen Shu and P'u Hsien have their seats too far away to be rivals of Kuanyin, but the nearness of Anking to Chiu Hua Shan (about one hundred miles), makes its patron even more important than the Goddess of Mercy in the city whose temples we are considering.

Ti Tsang is not mentioned at all by Eitel *(Handbook of Chinese Buddhism)*, and Edkins *(Buddhist China)* gives only a brief notice without identifying his Sanscrit name. Richard *(Calendar of the Gods)* confuses him with Yenlo

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(Yama), the king of Hell, in which the author is in error. Sarkar *(Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*, p. 286), considers that while the similar meaning of the names identifies Ti Tsang With the Sanscrit Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, there does not seem to have been any Indian cult of this god, and that his worship is a Chinese development, the only Hindu element being the name. The deity is not mentioned by Huan Tsang (602-624), or I Tsing (634-713), Chinese pilgrims who visited India. He is described by Getty *(Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 90). The most detailed accounts I have seen are in Johnston *(Buddhist China*, p. 170 *f)*, and in Doré (vol. VII, p. 235 *f)*. The latter unhesitatingly accepts the identification with Kshitigarbha, and Beal *(Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 59), also equates the two names. Doré says that the only Chinese source is the Ti Tsang Sutra of the Chinese Buddhist canon, which was in existence at the end of the seventh century, and I do not think has ever been translated, but Johnston (p. 170), gives several other authorities. I should think that the Chiu Hua Shan Chih might cast some light on the subject, but it is possible that Johnston has exhausted that material. There is a detailed monograph on Ti Tsang by Visser in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*.

The peculiar function of Ti Tsang is shown by his name, which means King of the Earth's Womb, or Earth Treasure. He is the Bodhisattva who visits hell and redeems suffering souls. It should be remembered that in Buddhism, hell is only an incident, though a poignant one, in the wheel of transmigration, and it does not mean everlasting punishment. Buddhism has eighteen hells, Taoism only ten. Ti Tsang is usually represented with a crozier topped with six rings, and a jewel, at whose light the gates of hell fly open. He is always gilded and usually sitting on a throne, in contrast to Kuanyin, who often stands, and Wen Shu and P'u Hsien, who ride upon a tiger and an elephant, respectively. He is not Yenlo, the ruler of hell, but in Anhui is considered superior to the latter. He leads the rescued souls to the western heaven of Amitabha. As Jizo he is popular in Japan. His birthday is the 30th of the 7th month.

Legend connects him with Chiu Hua Shan through a prince of Korea

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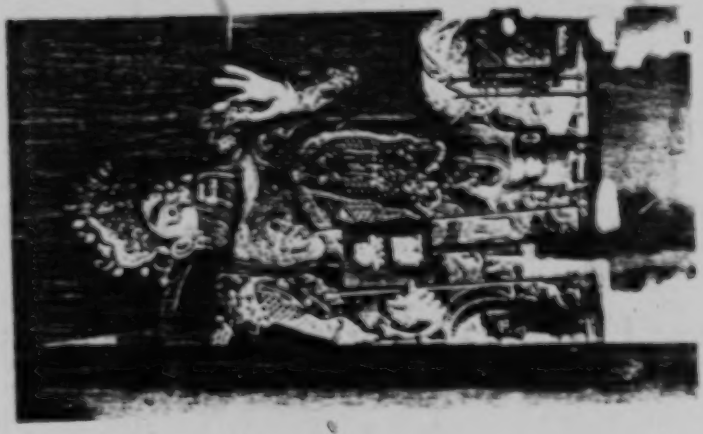
The Heavenly Kings.



SHRYOCK -- The Temples of Anking.

[facing p. 80]

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(possibly Siam), who resigned his throne, came to China as a monk about 760, and lived on the mountain. He and at least one other later monk of Chiu Hua are regarded as incarnations of the Bodhisattva (JOHNSTON, p. 211).

In 719 A. D. a Hindu, Amogha Vajra, reached China, and shortly achieved a great reputation at the court in Ch'ang An (EITEL, p. 8, and JOHNSTON, p. 369). He is said to have instituted the festival called Feeding the Hungry Ghosts (Yu Lan Huei, or Yen K'ou), which was fully elaborated about fifty years after Amogha's death. Dr. Reichelt, of Nanking, is of the opinion that Amogha adapted the custom from the masses for the dead said by the Nestorians who then flourished in Ch'ang An. The Ullambana Sutra, which had been translated into Chinese several centuries before, was used in the service. Yu Lan is a transliteration of the Sanscrit Ulamba, to endure great anguish, and Yen K'ou means to fill the hungry mouths. The custom is said to have been started by Sakyamuni, who directed his disciple Maudgalyayana to do it, but Eitel (p. 155), says that this story is a forgery. The Yu Lan Huei is peculiarly associated with Ti Tsang, and the festival is said to last from the 15th of the 7th month to the 30th, which is the birthday of Ti Tsang. The Li Chi indicates that in ancient China wandering spirits were propiated at this season.

The original hungry ghosts were the Hindu Pretas (MONIER WILLIAMS, *Buddhism*, p. 219), but in China they are the spirits of men who have no descendants to woship them, or who have not been buried. Altars to these wandering spirits are mentioned in the classics. The festival includes the reading of the Ti Tsang Sutra by a monk impersonating the Bodhisattva, the sprinkling of grains of rice and water for the ghosts to eat and drink, and the placing of lighted lanterns on the water. When the light is finally extinguished, it is said a water spirit has swallowed it, and been destroyed.

Buddhism has always adopted features of the religions of countries into which it has been introduced, such as the Nat worship of Burmah, and by doing so has strengthened its hold upon the people. So it has been in China. My own opinion is that the cult of Kuanyin owes its popularity largely to

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superstitions. The Taoist society is called the Tao Chiao Huei, and has branches in different parts of the country, most of them acknowledging Chang T'ien Tsi as head, and when one uses the word Taoism applied to the present, it is this society and its doctrines to which he should refer.

Like the Buddhists, the Taoists are ready to claim almost any god as their own, or any temple, if they can get their hands on it, but nevertheless the number of really Taoist temples is pretty definite, and it is possible to eliminate cults which do not belong to them. For instance, a Taoist monk told me that the Fu City-God temple was Taoist, while the Hsien City-God, who differs from the Fu in no wise save in the district he represents, was Buddhist. The truth is that the City-God does not really belong to either religion, although Taoist monks may be employed to take care of one temple, and Buddhists of another.

In May 1924, after some trouble, I was fortunate enough to find and secure an interview with the head of the Taoist organization in Anking, named Li. Li, by the way, is a very common name among Taoists, because it was the surname of Lao Tzi. This man was a dignified, middle-aged gentlemen, who was very willing to answer questions, and seemed to have quite accurate ideas about religions other than his own, such as Christianity. He gave me some interesting facts about the Taoist church.

The words most commonly used for Taoist temples are Kung and Kuan, but I have not seen it stated in any foreign book that these names also indicate the rank of the temple and the size of the district over which it claims authority. Huai Ling Hsien is divided into nine Kuan, and has one Kung, the Pi Hsia Kung (Hall of the Blue Sky), which is the temple of the Tung Yo. I could learn the names of only eight of the nine Kuan, and of these only the first is in Anking itself. They are :

Yiu Shen Kuan,
Ku T'an Tzi,
Lin Yuen Kuan,
San Ch'eng Tzi,

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779 Chen Yi Kuan,
778 Ch'ing Shu Kuan,
776 San Yuen Kuan,
Tzi Hsiao Kuan.

The Tung Yo, the god of the Pi Hsia Kung, is said to govern the entire province, but there seems to be some dispute concerning the validity of this claim, and some scoffers even confine his activities to the East Gate suburb.

779 The society consists entirely of men, and has between five and six hundred
774 members in Huai Ling Hsien. The card of my informant, Li, said that he was the head of the provincial organization, with the title, Chen Hui Chang, but he told me that there was little connection between the various branches of the church, even within the province. I had supposed Kiangsi to be the stronghold of Taoism, but he said it was fully as developed in Anhui. The Anking organization is in communication with the T'ien Tsi at Lung Hu Shan, and recently raised 7,000 dollars to defray the expenses of a month's visit by the latter to attend some festivities held by the governor of Anhui in Anking. I regret very much that I did not know at the time that he was in Anking. He seems to travel a good deal, whether for pleasure or in the interests of his organization I cannot say. It is unlikely that a man with so much to lose and so little to gain would meddle with Chinese politics in their present muddy condition, and there does not seem to be anything secret about the society.

772 If a man wishes to join the Taoist order, he " Enters the Gate ", through
774 a sort of apprenticeship to a member. As the Taoists' chief means of support is the saying of masses for the dead, it is necessary that they should read, and so the length of the novitiate varies. If the candidate is literate, he studies for three years, but if not, the term is six, and the course includes the Confucian classics. All the members of the society are called Tao Szi, which is usually translated as monk, but this is very misleading, as they may marry and have their own homes. No one not a member is considered a Taoist.

Pl. 10

SHRYOCK — The Temples of Anking

A Buddha

Kuanyin

[facing p. 88]

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There are at present two Taoist temples in Anking. Two others have ceased to exist as temples, though the buildings still stand. Of these two temples, only one is of any size, the temple of the Tung Yo outside the East Gate near the Yin Chiang Tzi. The temple is almost a duplicate of the Fu Ch'eng Huang Miao, which will be described later, having a stage for theatricals over the entrance and the ten hells on the sides of the first court. It faces south and has red walls in imitation of the state temples. 779 777 346 776

The Tung Yo (Eastern Peak), is the god of T'ai Shan, the mountain in Shantung famous both for Taoist and Confucian associations. The mountain has received worship from time immemorial, but the Taoist story is that he was originally a general of Wu Wang, of the Chou dynasty (1122 B. C.), who was posthumously honored by the emperor after the former's death in battle.

Tradition says that the temple was originally erected during the T'ang dynasty, but this is very unlikely, and there is no temple history to support the statement, while the Hsien Chih says that it was rebuilt by Li Erh Wan in the 7th year of Shun Chih (1656). Outside the main hall and at the ends of the rows of hells are the images of two gods, Tsung Kuan (Controller of All), on the east and Wen Shen (God of Disease), on the west. Within the hall are three images. In the center is the Tung Yo, wearing robes and a headdress which indicates his rank, and in general resembling the City-God except that the face is gilded, and that there is only one image of the god, which is never carried in procession or taken from the temple. On either side of the Tung Yo are his two ministers, the Wen P'an Kuan and the Wu P'an Kuan (Civil and Military Judges).

It would seem as if the Tung Yo had some of the functions of the City-God as a judge of the dead and he is prayed to for protection generally and for children, though his popularity for the last does not approach that of Kuanyin or the Sung Tzi Liang Liang. In the Anking temple, apparently the only festival in his honor is his birthday on the 28th of the 3rd month, though Richard (Calendar of the Gods), also mentions the 6th of the 2nd month. The son of the Tung Yo, Huang T'ien Hua, has been deified as the Duke Ping Ling, and the grand-daughter is a popular goddess in Shantung. The god is mentioned in the Taoist novel, the Feng Shen Pan.

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Sakyamuni.

Lohan.

[facing p. 96]

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gions and cults. In the disorder that followed the Hans and during the T'ang dynasty (618-907), many foreign influences drifted into China. It was the period of the Buddhist pilgrims, of the coming of the Nestorians and the Muhammedans, a time of great mingling of faiths, whose history does not seem to have adequately studied by Europeans. The Sung and Yuen dynasties which followed also saw great developments in religion, such as the metamorphosis of Kuanyin and the vicissitudes of Taoism. Many of the most characteristic features of Chinese religion began during these centuries. For instance, the burning of paper money and imitation valuables instead of burying real wealth in the graves began shortly before the T'angs (DE GROOT, Bk. I, p. 712). Under the Sungs the dead were burned, a most striking change from ancient custom (YULE, MARCO POLO, Index, *Cremation*).

But what interests us most at present was the growth of certain cults, not new, but largely made over and developed, which have had great influence upon Chinese religion ever since. In this last section, then, I will give some documents, mostly taken from the Huai Ling Hsien Chih, or from inscriptions and temple histories, concerning a few of these cults. I believe that they may show foreign influence and that the records of the T'angs and Sungs might shed much light upon them, and upon the history of Chinese religion generally.

The gods of these cults often receive recognition from the state, on the old principle, already mentioned, that local officials should worship local gods, and on recommendation by the local authorities these gods are rewarded by the central government, or punished if they do not produce desired results. Chavannes (*le T'ai Chan*, p. 385), says that the T'ang emperors were the first to give princely titles to these gods. The temples naturally record favorable instances, but they are not the only cases of official notice. A year or so ago, at Nanling Hsien during a drought, a god was publicly tried by the magistrate for neglect of duty, condemned, left in the hot sun to see how he liked it himself, and finally, after enduring every kind of insult, was broken in pieces. Many similar instances will occur to students of religion. No Chinese would dream of doing such a thing to the tablet of Confucius, or to

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those of his own ancestors, which shows as well as anything could the different status of the various kinds of spirits.

This difference in treatment, and the fact that, so far as I know, the great sacrifice is never offered in these temples, seems an indication of their relatively recent origin and possibly of foreign influence. The robes and head dresses of these gods vary, and indicate their rank. When one of the images is consecrated, the maker places a small dot on the forehead or in the pupils of the eyes with the blood of a cock. Buddhists also do this to their gods. Sometimes openings are made in the backs of the images and models of various organs, usually the heart or the liver, are placed there, but I do not think this is required. The images are usually made of plaster or cement spread upon a wooden framework, and are painted or gilded.

Monks are employed as caretakers in these temples, and sometimes get entire control of them, but Buddhist gods do not appear in the hall of the patron diety. The ordinary worship is little more than a call, such as officials and friends pay each other at the New Year, though sometimes a report or a prayer is made. The roofs of these temples may or may not be curved, and the entrance may face in any direction.

My choice among these cults, for I cannot be exhaustive, is determined by their prominence in Anking and the accessibility of knowledge concerning them there. I have chosen the City-God, the Dragon King, the Fire God, the God Who Drives away Locusts, and the God of Medicine.

The Ch'eng Huang Miao (Temple of the City-God).

The words Ch'eng Huang mean wall and moat, respectively, and together signify the city as a whole. The functions of the Ch'en Huang are two fold. First, he is the personification of the city, and as a god he occupies in the spirit world the same place held by the chief official of the city in this. He is the fortune and tutelary deity of the town. During the Manchu dynasty, the officials visited the temple on the 1st and 15th of each month, reporting what had happened in the city and burning incense, though there does not

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seem to have been a regular service; Prayers were offered for any object concerning the welfare of the city, the worshippers being the officials or a committee of the gentry. Private individuals pray to the god for almost anything, but especially for recovery from sickness, which leads us to the second of this[1] functions.

As the deity of the city, he reports the conduct of its inhabitants after death. His temple represents a yamen, with officials, secretaries and lictors in attendance on the god. When the time has come for a man to die, the god sends one of his servants, who summons the spirit to the judgment hall, after which he is rewarded or punished according to ideas probably borrowed from Buddhism. As an especial honor, the god himself may appear to a man in a dream, announcing coming death.

Although the City-Gods are local deities at the present time, there may have been an earlier stage when the City-God was a general divinity, for so far as I know, he had traditionally the same personal name, Chi, in all places, his birthday falls on the same date in most places and the same stories are told about him. Now, however, those holding the office seem to be deified local officials.

The cult affords an interesting comparison with that of a Greek god. Tyche was originally a general goddess controlling the affairs of states, a form of the Great Mother (J.-E. HARRISON, *Prolegomend to Greek Religion*, p. 270), and is mentioned by Pindar (a, 12). In the Alexandrine period, a new conception of the city arose in the Greek world. Athens had been an independent city-state under the guardianship of Athene, but Alexandria and Antioch were cities as parts of the greater state, and Tyche became the personification of this idea. She was usually shown wearing the mural crown and holding a cornucopia of plenty, and in this guise still appears in the representations of European and American towns. She was affected by Orphics, and was connected with fate (M. P. NILSSON, *Greek Religion*, p. 284). Constantine made the Tyche of Constantinople Christian by the simple expedient of putting a cross on her head. In Rome there seem to have been several personified abstractions who filled a similar place, the genius of the city, the

[1] [Errata: should be his. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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794 Fortunae Populi Romani, and the Dea Roma *(Encycl. of Religion and Ethics,* 776 City-God).

The Chinese like to trace all their institutions back to the days of Yao, Shun and Yu, and attempt to find the worship of the City-God in the most ancient times. Mr. Feng Han Yi, the librarian of the University of Amoy, has sent me a number of selections from a book in his possession called the Ch'un Ming Meng Yu Lu, concerning the City-God. I will give a translation of them at the end of this section. In characteristic fashion, the author discovers the cult flourishing in the earliest days, but according to Mr. Feng, the effort rests on a questionable interpretation of ambiguous characters in the Li Ki and the Ch'un Ch'iu. What is quite evident from these records is that the terms Ch'eng Huang do not occur in the classics, and that no authentic record of the cult is found until after the Three Kingdoms (265). The first account of one of these gods appears to have been written about the time of the K'ai Yuen period of the T'ang dynasty (742), by a man named Li Yang Ping, and other references show the cult to have been prevalent at that time. The first temple is said to have been built in Wuhu, in the province of Anhui, about 230, although it is not mentioned in the history of Wu. None of these records give any intimations of foreign influence.

Chinese scholars in Anking whom I have questioned think that the god is descended from the Hsieh Chi or Gods of the Land and Grain, frequently mentioned in the classics, and there does seem to be a connection between the City-God and the Earth Gods, for there is an image called the King of the Earth Gods (T'u Ti Wang), in the Ch'en Huang Miao. But the Hsieh Chi were probably local divinities of the country, very much like the Earth Gods of the present. The character Hsieh, composed of earth and to divine, seems to confirm this. However, this view may be correct.

177 There are still other elements in the cult. The painting of the faces of 794 men acting as attendents of the god may be Hindu, or Tibetan, although the Tibetans use masks. Wang Kuo Wei, a Chinese authority on the drama, says that the first recorded instance of masks in China was subsequent to the Han dynasty. Besides this, the ten hells seen in the courtyard of every

1 [Errata: should be Chi. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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346 778 794 realistic agonies and ferocious demons looking on. There are judges presiding over each hell, and at the far end of the cloisters are a number of images outside the lattice, including Yenlo himself, the King of the Earth Gods and his consort, and some hellish officials. These hells are said to be found in temples to Ti Tsang — Doré gives instances — but I have not observed it. The Anking temple lacks the famous inscription usually found in City-God temples, so direct and to the point; " Ni Yei Lai Liao " (You also will come here).

346 778 794 796 Inside the main hall is a magnificent central altar, on which are duplicate images of the Ch'eng Huang, one behind and above the other. The first is used in processions, while the second always remains upon the altar. I am sorry that I am unable to offer any explanation of this duplication, for it is not done with other deities, with the exception of the Fire God, andt he latter's images differ, while those of the City-God are exactly alike. Other gods are carried in procession, but do not find it necessary to be in two places at the same time. The two gods, who are the same god, wear ancient robes and headgear indicating the Ch'en Huang's rank as Wang. The faces are dark, like those of Hindus, but the features are Chinese. It is said that gold and jewels are put into the paint for the faces. Whether these images have the openings in which gold or silver hearts are placed, I do not know. The images are somewhat smaller than life-size, and receive worship together as equals. On one side of the altar is a secretary with a pen and record, and on the other, an officer, while on the table itself are boards of the kind borne before officials in the manner of the Roman fasces. Against the walls are a number of underlings of the god.

Behind this hall is another, once used as a dormitory for monks, probably Taoist, but now a primary school. It contains images of the Sung Tzi Niang Niang, the Goddess of Small Pox, and the wife of the City-God (Ch'eng Huang Niang Niang). The hall seems to be used only by women.

Following the revolution the temple was cleared of images, and when I first saw it in 1916, it was still in a ruinous state, but the cult has revived and the temple now approaches its former splendour. The money was raised by

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a committee of gentry, who sent a subscription list through the city, everyone contributing.

Beggars sleep in the courtyard, and poor people about to die have themselves carried there, for it is considered fortunate to pass away in the presence of the god. Divination is practiced in the temple, gambling and fortune telling flourish in the courtyard, and the place attracts the worst element in the city. There seems more anti-foreign feeling than in any other temple. I found it very difficult to get information myself, and I was obliged to ask Chinese friends to inquire for me. However, no objection was made to my visiting the temple, even on the god's birthday. The present building dates from 1864, but an older one was destroyed by the T'aip'ings. On the whole, the place is kept in good repair, and the bells have just been repainted.

The god is regarded as a colleague by the officials. He can be commanded by a superior, like the provincial governor, and requested by his equals and inferiors. A favorable response to prayer is made more probable by fasting, and the god is considered very prompt and efficient in his answers. Under the republic, the officials have ceased to worship there, but it is possible the custom will be revived. The god is held strictly responsible for the fortune of the city, and is rewarded according to his works.

Many pay reverence to the god at the New Year, but his great festival is the birthday, which is the 15th of the 5th month. Then the temple enclosure is crowded with hundreds of people all day and night, the altar is brilliant with huge candles, and the air thick with incense. The absence of the officials takes away from the old impressiveness, but still the effect is extremely gay and exciting. The crowds jostle and talk, firecrackers, gongs, drums and tamtams swell the din, and everything is wild and barbaric. Nothing could be more different from the quiet and refinement of a Confucian sacrifice.

At this festival, men in costume act as the attendants of the god. This service is usually performed by youths who desire some favour, such as the recovery of a parent from sickness, or as the fulfilment of a vow made while they themselves were ill. For this purpose they form an association, and appear in relays of a quarter of an hour, so that there are always six men in

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attendance. These men are dressed as "Ghosts" (Kuei), with boards across their shoulders under their clothes, and fantastic gowns and head-dresses. But the most peculiar feature of their make up is the painting of their faces, which resemble grotesque masks, terrifying or humorous. White is the predominating colour, but red, black, blue and yellow are also used, and bits of gold or silver paper are stuck on the skin,

In the Chinese theater, the make ups have significance. For instance, traitors like Tsao Tsao and Ch'in Kuei paint their faces white, warriors like Chang Fei are usually black, while some characters such as K'ung Ming do not use paint at all. But I cannot find that the different colours used by the ghosts have any such significance, or that there are any rules for their use. Possibly there may be some connection between the fact that both ghosts and actors do this, and the stages in the temples. At any rate, the faces are painted with the greatest care. The ghosts come on in pairs, carrying lictor's wands, which they strike together, and after kowtowing, place themselves one on either side of the altar, standing without a sound or a movement until they are relieved. In their mouths they carry metal bits, or copper cash with tassels attached, which hang down from their lips. This may be traceable to the old Chinese custom of compelling the bearers of coffins to be gagged (De Groot, Bk. I, p. 188). I have also seen ghosts at the birthday celebration of the Tung Yo, so perhaps the custom is Taoist.

The most characteristic feature of the cult is the tour of the city by the god, or in Anking, by the two gods, for both the Fu and Hsien deities are carried out on the same day. Until about ten years before the founding of the republic, the god was carried in procession only on his birthday and in times of great danger and calamity, but from that time until the revolution, the procession was held three times a year, on the 3rd of the 3rd month, the 15th of the 7th month, and the 1st of the 10th month, all days of special sacrifice to spirits. These parades drew out the rougher element from the city and the surrounding country districts, causing so much disorder that they were forbidden by the police from the revolution until 1923, when the tour was revived on the 15th of the 7th month, the day of the Yu Lan Huei,

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Maitreya.

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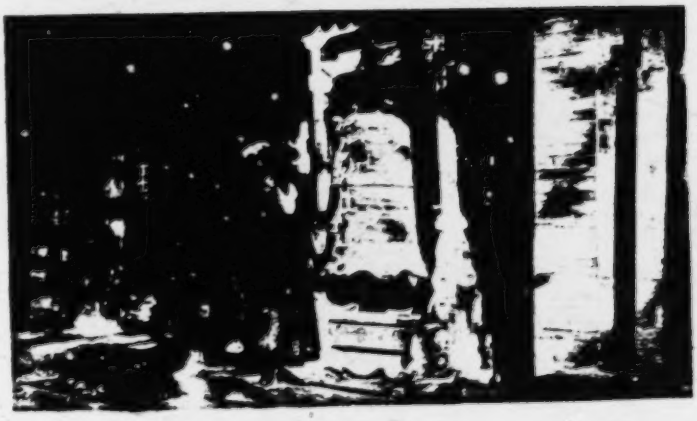

The Bell of Ti Tsang.

[facing p. 104]

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and even then permission was not granted until the night before. Yet the feeling of the people was so strong in favour of the custom, that with only a few hours preparation, the festival was as splendid as ever.

The tour commenced about nine in the morning and did not get back to the temple until after midnight, for the god visited every street whose inhabitants had made known, their desire to welcome him in the proper manner. Every shop and home had a table in the doorway with candles and incense, and everyone set off firecrackers in the god's honor. The entire city went on a holiday, and the streets were full of beggars, blind fortune tellers, gamblers, story tellers and acrobats. Men walked about on stilts very cleverly, making jokes and gestures that would not bear description, while from every quarter the associations of ghosts, in full regalia, came trooping to the temple. The parade took more than an hour to pass my point of observation. There were hundreds of ghosts like the wildest nightmare visions, their faces painted and lined with every colour under heaven, their robes bright with embroidered silks, beads and tinsel glittering in their high head gear and banners streaming from their shoulders like wings. Soldiers with gags in their mouths, lictors bearing staffs of office, secretaries, giants and dwarfs passed two by two down the narrow, crowded street, until finally, to a continuous roar of firecrackers exploding under the feet of the marching men, and a deafening clash of cymbals and drums, came the god in the sedan chair of an official, with curtains drawn at the sides for fear pictures might be taken. I caught a glimpse of his dark, impassive face, and he was gone. It was one o'clock when he returned to his temple. The courtyard was packed with men, waiting in absolute silence, and as the god entered, all fell on their knees. The welfare of the city was secure. The City-God is described by Grube *(Religion und Kultus der Chinesen*, p. 119, *f)*, and by de Groot *(les Fêtes annuelles à Emoui*, vol. II, p. 586, *f)*.

The following paragraphs from the Ch'un Ming Meng Yu Lu were sent to me by Mr. Feng Han Yi, of Amoy.

" The name of the City-God occurs in the Yi (the Book of Changes), but when people began to sacrifice to the god I do not know. The *Li Ki* says,

1 Errata: should be Chi. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116-- Analyst]

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" The emperor sacrificed to the eight spirits, one of whom was Yao ". Seven of them were the spirits of Shui Yung. Hsui means Huang (moat), and Yung means Ch'eng (wall). This shows the origin of the cult. The Ch'un Ch'iu says, " When the state of Chen was in distress, the people prayed in the temple of Szi Yung, and in Sung under similar circumstances, a horse was sacrificed to Szi Yung. These instances prove the existence of the cult. The character Yung is not used at present, but was common in ancient times. From this we may suppose that sacrifices to the City-God began in the time of Yao " (about 2300 B. C.).

" The first Ch'eng Huang Miao was built in Wuhu about 230 by Ch'ih Wu, the emperor of Wu. The temple was on the east of the yamen of the Fu Chih of T'aip'ing Fu. The precedent was set by Ch'ih Wu, and as time passed the temple was decorated by the people.

" During the period K'ai Yuen of the T'ang dynasty (about 742), a scholar named Li Yang Ping wrote the history of the City-God of Tan T'u Hsien, therefore the cult must have arisen before that time. This is also proved by a stone tablet in Wei Chou with an inscription written by Li Peh (the famous poet, about 750), which refers to a temple of the City-God. When Tu Mu was appointed magistrate of Huang Chou, Han Yu magistrate of Ch'ao Chou, and Hsin Ling magistrate of Hsu Chou, they all sacrificed to the City-Gods. This shows the existence of the cult in many places " (Han Yu was exiled in 803, GILES, *Biog. Dict.*, Han Yu).

" In ancient times people wrote concerning the City-God, saying that he was the spirit of the wall and moat surrounding the city. Everything must have a spirit. Mountains have mountain spirits, rivers have river spirits, and valleys have their spirits also. The people gather in one place and build a city, with high walls and deep moats, to protect themselves. There must be a god who secretely protects them. In this way the conception of the City-God arose ".

There are various traditions as to the man who became the City-God, probably all worthless. Some say he was Chi Hsin, a loyal follower of the founder of the Han dynasty, Lu Pan (202-195 B. C.), who saved his leader

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at the cost of his own life, for which the emperor canonized him as the City-God. Others say the cult arose from a picture which T'ang T'ai Tsung (627-649), placed at the entrance of his palace as an example to officials. The following stories were also sent to me by Mr. Feng.

The Story of Mo Yung Liang, from the History of Northern Ch'i (545-573).

" The governor of Ch'in Ho, named Yo, sent Mo Yung Liang to be the official of Yin Ch'en. Shortly after his arrival, he was attacked by a general named T'ien Jen Yo, by land and water. T'ien blocked the river with reeds, cutting the city off from the rest of the country. The city stood alone, and the people were afraid, but Mo encouraged them. In the city was a temple, which tradition says was devoted to the City-God. Mo led the people to pray there, and shortly after the reeds were broken and carried away by a tempest. T'ien than used chains to close the channel, but after Mo had prayed again the chains broke. A third time the city was delivered and the people rejoiced, attributing their salvation to the City-God. "

The Story of Su Han, from the History of Sung (About 470).

" When Su Han was the governor of Tsi Chou, the place was attacked by barbarians (Man). They made their way into the city and Su, with thirty-six members of his family, committed suicide by leaping into the fire. Some time after Su's death the people of Chao wished to attack Tsi Chou, but on their way they were pursued by a great army coming from the north, shouting with a loud noise, " We are coming to avenge Su Han. " The men of Chao were afraid and fled. So the people of Tzi built a temple in honor of Su Han calling him the City-God. "

The following essay, taken from the Huai Ling Hsien Chih, was written by Yu Chung Hsuen Kung (died, 1354), an official of Hsu (an ancient name for the district in which Anking is located), during the Yuen dynasty. It was originally inscribed on a stone tablet, which has been destroyed, and a second monument copied from it is also gone.

" In ancient times, City-Gods were seldom mentioned. The custom of worshipping them began in the T'ang dynasty, until now, from the em-

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peror to the inhabitants of small villages, everyone builds temples to these gods.

" It seems that the people and the god of Hsu are more prosperous than those of other places. Formerly, when Hsu was a part of Tsu, the people worshipped devils, but now they sacrifice only to the City-God, and they are especially devoted in times of famine, plague and flood. Offerings of animals, incense, flags and " Fan " are frequently brought to the temple.

" Tradition says that the 15th day of the 5th month is the birthday of the god, and on that day he is carried through all the streets of the city. The people, rich and poor, leave their houses and crowd the streets, which are full of amusements, the playing of flutes and the beating of drums. Before the procession of the god the people pray, and afterwards they rejoice, the festival lasting for three days.

" The god of Hsu is more prosperous than the god of any other place. During the time of Chih Chen (1333-1368), rebels from Yin Chou and Lu An caused trouble in the Yangtse valley and destroyed eighteen cities. Hsu was quite close to the center of the disorder and was in great danger, so many thousands of people prayed to the City-God, and used the Pu to determine his will (The Pu are pieces of wood used in divinition). Whenever they fought with the rebels in accordance with the instructions of the god they won, and did not lose once. Therefore Hsu suffered less than any other district. In order to show their gratitude to the god, the people contributed money to decorate his temple, and petitioned that he might be advanced in rank. The Chun Shou laid the matter before the T'ai Ch'an and the Po Szi (titles of officials), and they decided to promote the god to the rank of Wang. In the 4th month of the 14th year of Chih Chen (1347), the decree came. The governor and the people sacrificed cattle to the god, and an official announcement was made, as follows ;

" We, the men of Hsu, love our parents and die for them when necessary. We were kind and filial, and so the god appeared to us ".

" Ming Shih (poems), were written on a monument before the temple, to show forever their gratitude and the power of the god.

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Gods are necessary for the people.
They are mighty and just,
Helping the virtuous.
When the rebels neared Hsu
The natives fought with them,
Winning many battles.
The men of Hsu prayed not for themselves,
But for their fathers, the emperor, and their elders.
Therefore the god saved them.
How can the people forget his kindness?
Now he has received deserved honor.
Surely with his protection
There will be no more trouble.

The following essay, also taken from the Hsien Chih, was written in the time of Ch'ing Tao Kuang (1821-1850).

" When Ming T'ai Tsu ascended the throne (1367), and killed Ch'en Yiu Liang beside the P'o Yang lake, the god of this city helped him. In the second year of his reign he ordered that sacrifices be made to the god, saying, " His wisdom is beyond speech ". He also gave the god the title of Chien Ch'a Szi Ming Wei Ling Kung (The mighty duke who judges and controls the people).

" In the year Chi Mao rebels sailed up the Yangtse and reached Anking. They besieged the city for eighteen days, but on the nineteenth they saw a horseman in red armour who rode around the city wall, and realizing it was the god, they ran away and their leader was killed. All agreed that this was an appearance ot the City-God. The T'ai Shou decorated the temple and built five halls with a dormitory behind them, connected by porches. The T'ung Chih wrote the record.

In the year Yi Yiu of Shun Chih (1646), the temple was destroyed (during the Manchu conquest), but later it was rebuilt, and Wu Pan Tzi wrote the record, which said.

„ The god appeared to a monk in a dream, telling him to carry the image

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of the god out of the temple the next day. The monk obeyed, and that day the temple was burned to the ground. All marvelled at this ". The next year the temple was rebuilt.

" In the year Jen Tzi of K'ang Hsi, four neighboring districts were overrun by locusts. The Hsieh Chen and the Chung Ch'en prayed to the god, and the locusts disappeared. A few years later they redecorated the temple, sacrificing an ox, and erected a monument with this inscription ."

An Imperial Decree, from a stone tablet in the Fu Ch'eng Huang Miao.

A Report of the Board of Rites to the Emperor Kuang Hsu.

" On the 13th day of the 4th month in the 13th year of Kuang Hsu (1888), the Board of Rites received an imperial decree authorizing it to confer Pien Eh and titles upon gods who had been efficient (Ling), in helping the people. In the city of Anking, of the province of Anhui, the Fu and Hsien City-Gods, and the god of Hsiu Ling Hsien are famous for their effectiveness. During the rebellion (T'aip'ing), the rebels attacked those cities, and it was due to the power of the City-Gods that order was restored. When the districts suffered from famine, plague or flood, the people prayed, and their prayers were always answered. The prayers were so effective that the emperor commanded a member of the Hanlin Academy to write a Pien Eh for each city. They were given to Ch'en Yi, who presented them to the officials of the two cities.

" The emperor has commanded the Board of Rites to decide the rank of the gods. The command must be obeyed.

" The Board hastened to follow its instructions, and presented Pien Eh to different cities. The report from the officials of Anking said that under the Yuen dynasty (1280-1368), the City-God of Anking Fu was given the title of Hsien Chung Ling Yiu Wang (The king who showed his power, loyalty and efficacy in the protection of the people). The City-God of San K'ou Chen (the god of Huai Ling Hsien), received the title of Li Peh (awesome marquis). During the reign of Chia Ch'ing (1796-1821), the god of San K'ou Chen was removed to Anking. When there was drought or excessive rain the people prayed to this god, and they were always answered. The temple was

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destroyed by the T'aip'ings, but it was rebuilt during the reign of T'ung Chih (1862-1875). At first the rebels stayed in the northern part of the province of Hupeh, and the districts of Ch'ien Shan and Taihu were in terror. The governor, named Chu, made an agreement (Yo), with the god, that they two would be responsible for the city, and soon the robbers retired. (This is not a very accurate statement, for Anking became a T'aip'ing stronghold.) It seemed that some invisible force must have protected the city. During the winter of the 11th year of Kuang Hsu (1886), no snow had fallen, so the Fu and Hsien officials prayed earnestly in the presence of the god, and snow soon fell. In time of plague the people prayed, and the plague disappeared.

" The City-God of Hsiu Ling Hsien in former times was given the title, Hsien Yiu Peh (the marquis who has shown protection). At the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368), the title Fu Teh Kuang Chi was added (Blessedness, virtue and wide salvation). This god also answered the prayers of the people In the reign, of Hsien Feng (1851-1862), the rebels occupied Hsiu Ling, where the soldiers of the government attacked them. At night the rebels saw fierce lights behind the temple, which seemed connected with the noise of the cannon. This caused the robbers to fear that the enemy was in the city and they fled, many being killed in the confusion. After the war came the plague, and the whole city prayed in the temple. The monks received revelations from the god, commanding that certain medicines be used, and many sick were cured. During the 5th and 6th months of the 12th year of Kuang Hsu (1887), there was no rain. The crops dried up and turned yellow. After the officials and the people had prayed together before the god, the rain came and famine was averted. In gratitude to the god the officials reported this to the emperor, that a title might be given to him.

" The Board of Rites examined the facts and concluded that these were gods who could protect and save the people, for they had accomplished great good. The governor of Anhui then petitioned that titles be given to the gods, and the emperor ordered the Board to decide.

" The City-God of Anking, together with the gods of Huai Ling and Hsiu Ling, have been reported by the present governor as having helped

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796 former officials to protect the cities. The robbers saw mysterious lights behind the temple, and the gods revealed to their monks ways of curing the people. It is impossible definitely to prove these things, but that the prayers of the people were answered is evident. So in accord with the request of the governor of Anhui, we ask your majesty to order your ministers to consider what titles shall be awarded, and submit them for your majesty's approval. We will then forward them to the governor.

" We pray that your majesty will approve this report. "

Directions from the Board of Rites to the governor of Anhui.

" The governor of Anhui reported to the emperor that titles should be given to the gods of Anking Fu and Huai Ling Hsien. On the 11th day of the inter-callary 4th month in the 13th year of Kuang Hsu, the Board of Rites received an imperial decree empowering it to decide the request. They then asked the ministers to consider what titles and ranks should be given. It was decided that the present title of the City-God of Anking Fu, Hsien Chung Ling Yiu Wang, should have two characters prefixed to it, Tsang Hua (to help civilization). The emperor himself approved the words by making vermillion circles beside them. So we forward these directions to you, and we also request you to receive suitably the two following Pien Eh, and present them to the proper temples.

" To the Fu god of Anking, Wan Chiang Hsi Yiu (the guardian and protector of Anhui).

" To the Hsien god of Huai Ling, Fu P'i Mei Ch'eng (blessedness sheltering the city of Anking).

" In the winter of the 18th year of Kuang Hsu, the gentry and the people carved these words on this monument, with feelings of gratitude and respect. "

The Marriage of the Fu Ch'eng Huang, from the Temple History.

" Tradition says that in a certain summer of the reign of Kuang Hsu, the City-God of Anking married a daughter of the Chi family, of Ta T'ung. The girl's father had been an official and was a Buddhist. One day during the 4th month, his wife and daughter went to worship in the Fu Ch'eng Huang Miao in Anking. That night the girl dreamed that a man wearing dragon

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robes and the belt and shoes of an official, with a head-dress like the emperor, opened the door of her room and stood by her bed. After looking at her a long time in silence, he went away. This was repeated for several nights. She then told her mother, who was greatly surprised, and directed her, if the man came again, to sew a red thread into his gown. That night when the man appeared, the girl did as she had been told. The next day the mother and daughter went to different temples, and at length discovered the thread on the gown of the Fu Ch'eng Huang. The girl looked carefully at the face of the god, and saw that he was the man of her vision.

" They returned home, and that night the man again appeared, laughed, and said, " We are destined to marry and the time is near. Prepare yourself. " Then he vanished. The next morning the girl was sick and told what had happened to her mother. Having received her mother's consent to the marriage, she died. Her mother sent all the things needed by a bride to the temple, and even now the bed, quilts and curtain may be seen there. They are shown to the public on the birthday of the lady. "

The marriage of the Hsien god occurred in 1919 under similar circumstances, the girl and her family being well known in Anking.

The Banishment of the Hsien Ch'eng Huang, from a Temple History.

" Tradition says that a man named Liu, a Chuan Yuen, reported to the Yu Huang (Taoist), and caused the banishment of the City-God. This Liu had a street named after him, the Chuan Yuen Fu. His personal name was Yueh Tsai, and he was a native of Huai Ling, of a poor family. While a student he was badly treated by the other boys because of his poverty, and the blame for everything was laid on him. One day a boy lost some valuable ink, and search was in vain. Someone accused Liu of the theft, and in order to discover the truth, all went to the City-God temple, and standing before the god, prayed, " We ask, that you will show us who is guilty of this theft by causing him to fall down on leaving the temple. " Now it happened that the day was hot, and someone had thrown a melon rind on the pavement. As Liu came from the temple he stepped on the rind and fell. Liu, who knew he was innocent, in anger wrote a report to the Yu Huang and burnt

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it. The message was picked up by a wandering spirit called Erh Yiu Shen, who presented it to the Yu Huang, and that deity, knowing that Liu was destined to become a Chuan Yuen, immediately issued a decree banishing the City-God 1115 li from his city for three years. The penitent god then appeared in a dream to the head of the school and testified to Liu's innocence. The teacher told Liu, who again petitioned the Yu Huang, this time that the god might be forgiven, and the distance was reduced to 15 li. So the City-God had a temple at San K'ou Chen, because that place was just 15 li from the city. Anyone who does not believe this may go to San K'ou Chen and see the temple. "

Pien Eh and Tui Tzi in the Fu Ch'eng Huang Miao.

Pien Eh. 1. " Good and evil are clearly separated. "
2. " Grace spreading far and near. "
3. " The blessed god of Anhui. "
4. " A thousand years are as one moment. " (On the stage.)
There are ten Ling.

Tui Tzi.

1. *a)* " The wicked will be destroyed. They are not yet punished, but they will not escape. It is the virtue of their ancestors which preserves them. When that is exhausted their end will come. "

b) " The righteous will prosper. They are not happy as yet, for they are hindered by the sins of their ancestors. But when the former guilt is wiped away, they will be rewarded. "

2. *a)* " Although you obey neither the laws nor the gods, yet when the mirror of sin is placed before you, will you have courage then ?

b) " I can remit your punishment and forgive you. But you must drop the knife, cease to harm, and turn your head.

3. *a)* " Struggle not with fortune. If you wish to know effect and cause, observe the present. " (A Taoist sentiment.)

b) " Let your heart be your master. Ask not about heaven and hell, but listen to what has been arranged. " (From Chuang Tzi.)

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4. *a)* " The word (Tao), of god knows the future. The god has always revealed his will, from the time of our ancestors till now. "

b) " The god's title has always been high. I (the presenter of the Tui Tzi), hope that the people will be blessed with prosperous years. "

There is a fifth Tui Tzi, which I could not translate into decent English.

THE LUNG WANG (DRAGON KING).

The dragon is found everywhere in Chinese art, and is mentioned from the most ancient times. The five clawed dragon was the symbol of the emperor and appeared on the national flag until the revolution of 1911. There is a wealth of Chinese material about it, and references in our literature are not lacking.

But when one approaches the cult of the Dragon King a good deal of confusion is found, and the various elements are not easy to disentangle. There are many dragons and dragon kings of various kinds, while numerous legends tell of the transformation of men into these monsters. And while the dragon may be an apotheosis of the crocodiles found in Chinese rivers, the cult can change very easily into snake worship. for snakes are often considered manifestations of the Dragon King and have been worshipped in temples, not as snakes, I believe, but as forms of the nobler god, since snakes as a class are not deemed holy. This serpent worship is seldom seen, while the cult of the Lung Wang is universal. At least, there are Dragon Kings everyrwhere, though they are essentially local gods. To this indigenous dragon worship has been added a strong Buddhist element, which itself has much older Hindu sources, the worship of the Nagas, or snake kings.

Into this thorny subject I shall not enter. Doré deals with it in two places ; vol. V, p. 677 *f.*, where he treats the dragons as if they were indigenous, and vol. VII, p. 409 *f.*, where he considers them as an element of Buddhism. As usual, he is very rich in material, but lacking in systematic arrangement, and I do not feel at all clear after reading him. However, he gives a large

1 [Errata: should be everywhere. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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794 77 number of references to both Chinese and foreign works, which would be invaluable to anyone devoting a monograph to the subject.

[778] The deity as he exists in Anking is purely a rain god. At the Festival of Lanterns on the 15th of the 1st month, paper dragons lighted from within by candles, are born through the streets as an offering for rain to help the spring crops, and their visit to a house insures good luck during the year. In time of drought, images of dragons — not the temple image of the god — are carried in procession, and if this is not effective, the god is carried into the hot sun and left to dry. He is usually represented as a man, or merely by a tablet.

Unfortunately, the Anking temple of this god is now used as a police station, the images have been taken away, and I found it impossible to get information there. However, I will give three essays, taken from the Hsien Chih, which throw interesting lights on this cult. The first refers to the Anking temple, and the god is probably the Ngao Kwang mentioned by Doré (vol. VII, p. 414*f.*). The second and third concern the god of a spring on the Great Dragon Mountain. Doré (vol. VII, p. 417), also mentions the story of Chang and his nine sons.

Hayes (*The Chinese Dragon*, p. 9), identifies eight varieties of dragons, some extremely rare, of which the Dragon Kings are only one kind. Doré classifies them by color. Chinese dragons are not such heavy villains as their western prototypes. " Although troublesome, they may be tamed ". One of Ernest Brahmah's delightful stories gives a very good idea of the Chinese attitude towards these interesting creatures.

LUNG WANG MIAO. (*Temple of the King of the Dragons.*)[1]

" The officials and the citizens worship the Lung Wang in different places. Formerly there was a temple outside the North Gate, but during the reign of Shun Chih (about 1650 A. D.), the magistrate Li Szi Chen removed it to outside the South Gate. A citizen, Jen Chin, made the following record :

" From history we learn that in ancient times the emperor sacrificed

1 [Errata: should be the. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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to God (Shang Ti), while the officials worshipped the gods of mountains and rivers within their jurisdiction. Temples were never built in honor of the Lung (Probably plural). Although dragons are troublesome, they may be tamed. In the book of Chou Yi (the Yi Ching), it is said that dragons were often seen flying across the sky, presaging wind and rain. Since Heaven (T'ien), sends floods and famines the officials must sacrifice according to the Yin Li. (The ceremonies of the Shang Dynasty.) Wan (the district of Anking), has a dragon mountain with a spring, and in times of famine the worship of the dragon was always effective. In the time of Ming T'ai Tsu (1367-1398 A. D.), the Lung Wang was called the Hsuen Chi Lung Wang (The Dragon King Who Saves the People) ".

" There are different places for worshipping the Lung Wang. The temple outside the North Gate was formerly used for sacrifices but after the war it was in ruins, and as a result there were frequent famines and droughts. The T'ai Shou, Li Kung, walked to the remains of the temple and prayed earnestly to the god. His request was granted, so in order to show their gratitude the people rebuilt the temple and kept the spring in good condition. As the temple near the North Gate was too small for the god, a new one was built outside the South Gate, with three great halls and three gateways. The walls were painted and the offerings became more splendid. In the time of Ch'ien Lung the temple was removed to inside the North Gate. "

LUNG SHAN LIN CH'IU. *(The Efficient Spring of the Dragon Mt.)*

" Thirty li north of Anking there is a Dragon Mountain, on whose western slope lies a spring, clear and deep, which has never failed. It flows down the mountain and waters several thousand mo of good land. In time of drought and famine the people pray there, and their prayers are always heard. Sometimes remarkable clouds are seen above the spring and around the top of the mountain. The custom of worshipping there began long ago, and in the time of Ming T'ai Tsu (about 1380 A. D.), the rank of T'ien Chin Hsuen Chi Lung Wang was conferred upon the god by the emperor. During

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the administration of Ch'u Hou Chieh as T'ai Hsou there was a great famine. The T'ai Shou prayed beside the spring and suddenly rain began to fall. Ch'u was grateful and said, " How can I forget the goodness of the people and the mercy of the mountain. " So he and two other officials contributed part of their salaries to rebuild the temple which had formerly stood by the spring. The image of the god was made pleasing and impressive, while the halls and porch were highly decorated. The T'ai Shou reported all this to the capitol. The Yu Szi, K'o Chung, and the Chin Szi, Wei Yung, asked me, Wang Ao, to make a record for the stone monument which would commemmorate these things.

" It is well that a Dragon Mountain should be located within the district of Hsu (Anking), and it would be a good thing for us to know when and how the mountain (i. e. the god), first appeared. Some say the people of the place believed that a dragon lived in the spring, because it was deep and dark, as if a god dwelt below, but others claim this is not the cause. In the old days, Chang Lu Szi, who was once the T'ai Hsou of Hsuen Chou, fought with Chen Ch'ang Yuen between Huai and Fei. Afterwards he and his nine sons were transformed into dragons and lived in this spring. We cannot judge of the truth of this tradition.

" Those mountains, forests, rivers, valleys, and hills that can produce clouds which send forth wind and rain are called gods, and the officials of the different districts usually make sacrifices to those mountains and rivers. For this reason the officials and the people of Hsu ought to worship the Dragon Mountain. Therefore I wrote this record on the monument, and I also composed the following poem, which was chanted at the sacrifices :

There is a dragon mountain in Hsu
With a spring which waters the fields.
On the mountain is the spring
And upon the hillsides are tilled fields.
From the earliest ages the men of Hsu have received
this help,
In time of trouble all heads are turned toward
the mountain.

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High above the hills float the clouds,
And within them is a spirit who changes their shapes
continually.
The people wondered who the spirit was
Until they found that it was the Lung Wang.
Hence they rebuilt the temple,
So that sacrifices might be made for a thousand years.
These sacrifices are still continued
And the people reap the reward.

The following essay was written by the governor (Hsin Fu) of Anhuei, T'ao Hsu, in the fourth year of Tao Kuang, 1824 A. D.

" Thirty li from the city of Wan there is a mountain, whose grandeur is like a painted screen with panels set at angles. It is called the Great Dragon Mountain. On the western side in a valley between two peaks lies a spring, called the Well of Heaven, and here the Dragon God lives. In the time of Ming T'ai Tsu (about 1380 A. D.), the god was given the rank of T'ien Chin Hsun Chi, and the present dynasty calls him by the same title. To the west of the spring there is a temple (Tsi), which was first built in the time of Ming Ch'en Hua (1465 A. D.), and down to the present dynasty it was kept in good repair. Whenever a famine came the people would pray there.

" In the summer of the 4th year of Tao Kuang, it did not rain for a long time. I prayed and my prayer was answered, but the rain was not sufficient, so on the 11th day of the 6th month, I and my officials went to the side of the spring and prayed. The sun was very hot. I rode from Chi Hsien Kuan for more than ten li before I arrived at the Tsi, which was in ruins. Among the tiles and the moss I knelt in prayer. Afterward I walked about three li to the stone of the White Horse on the top of the mountain, where I made obeisance to the Well of Heaven. As I went back to the city the air was full of dust and my heart was heavy, for what could I do for the people when the god was angry with me. But just as I reached the city rain began to fall, and by the time I reached my yamen, the roads were full of mud. The people

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794 776 were pleased. I myself had travelled seventy li under the hot sun before the rain came, and I had also sent two officials to pray. The rain came as an echo to our prayers. Alas, the people suffered from flood last year and they had not yet fully recovered. If this rain had not come, what would have happened? When I thought of this, I kept in mind the gift of the god. It is good for us to sacrifice to him, and so I chose a site to the right of the spring for his temple. On the top of a cliff I built a pavilion, naming it Fu Tseh (To give a benefit to the people), in order to show my gratitude to the god. Moreover, I asked my officials to give part of their salary towards the rebuilding of the temple. I also wrote a record on a monument, that the people might pray continually, and I composed the following poem.

So impressive is the Dragon Mountain,
So marvelous are its rocks and cliffs,
They rise high into the heaven.
The King of the Dragons abides there,
Wrapped in fog in the morning,
And in the evening clothed with smoke.
Here is the Well of Heaven
With its strange stone cliffs.
The water keeps down the dust.
When the god rests,
The water creatures rest also,
And the mouths of great fish are closed.
When the god goes forth,
There go with him the golden snake,
And the three legged, marble-like Chi.
In the morning he can traverse the rivers Huai and P'u,
And in the evening he rests by their side.
The servants of the god are many;
Their numbers are like a field of flax.
The spirits of the clouds stand in awe
When the god passes.

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The people hope for rain,
And the god hears their prayer.
He changes the river water into showers,
Which fill the vessels of the people.
The farmers also are glad,
For the crops are doubled at harvest.
Long life to the god;
May he receive continual sacrifices,
That the jars may be full of water,
And the barns rich with grain.

The Ho Shen (Fire God).

The festivals of the Fire God are held on the 15th of the 4th moon and the 22nd of the 6th moon. There are no peculiarities in the worship offered him.

He was a man named Lo, of the Chou Dynasty (about 1122 B. C.). The prime minister of Wu Wang, Chiang T'ai Kung, having been so directed by a Taoist divinity named Yuen Shih T'ien Tzen, appointed Lo as the Fire God. Another name given the god is Nan Yang Ta Ti (The Great God of the Southern Universe. Fire is usually associated with the south). The Fire God received commands from Shang Ti to examine the conduct of the people. If a man commits a crime the god punishes him and his family with fire and burns down their houses, in this way removing the guilt. The object of the worshippers is to persuade the god not to fire their houses.

" Everything we use and everything we eat is in some way indebted to fire, and they too are under the control of the god. The god, therefore, is closely connected with our daily life. During the time of Ch'in Shih Huang (220 B. C.), most books were destroyed, but a few survived, and tradition says they were saved by the power of the Fire God. Thus civilization owes much to him. "

There are four generals under the control of the Fire God, one with a fire-horse, another with a fire-dragon, the third with a fire-banner and the

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last with a bottle from which fire issues. Besides these the god has an army of 3000 fire-soldiers. When the god wishes to burn the houses of common people, he orders his fire-soldiers to do it, but when it is a matter of the mansions of officials, the generals are sent. When it is necessary to destroy the palace of the emperor the Fire God himself is the incendiary.

There are two images of the god, one as a civil official, the other as a warrior in armour and helmet. The official wears dragon robes and the crown of an emperor. Only the warrior image is carried in procession at the great festivals.

When worshippers come to the temple they must give a small sum, called incense money, to the one Buddhist monk who looks after the temple. Behind the hall of the Fire God is a small Buddhist temple without anything of distinction.

The temple is just inside the East Gate, on the south side. It was first built in the time of Ming Chen Teh (1506-1521 A. D.), and common people called it the Wan Chiang Kan Yin Tsi (Protector of the City). A former edition of the Hsien Chih said :

" During the Ming Dynasty, Wan (the district of Anking), was infested by robbers. To add to the misfortunes of the place, a part of the wall by the East Gate fell down just as the bandits were approaching. The magistrate arranged painted mats in such a way that from a distance it appeared as if the wall were intact. When the robbers approached they saw a man in red robes before the place where the mats had been placed, and they dared not advance further until the people had had opportunity to repair the wall. It was felt by all that the bandits had had a vision of the Fire God, so they built the temple and offered sacrifices.

" This temple was destroyed, and in the 8th year of Shun Chih (1652 A. D.), rebuilt by the officials. In the 13th year they received a decree ordering them to make sacrifices on the 23rd of the 6th month. In the 6th year of Ch'ien Lung (1742 A. D.), the governor and his officials again redecorated the temple, and after the T'ai P'ing Rebellion it was restored under T'ung Chih. The last restoration occurred during the reign of Kuang Hsu. "

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Giles gives a somewhat different account of the god *(Biog. Dict.*, Chu Jung). N. Hayes (a lecture in 1924), mentions a red raven with this god, but I have not observed it.

PA CHIA MIAO (GOD OF THE EIGHT SPECIES OF CREATURES.)

The temple was on the east side of the pagoda. It was dedicated to the worship of Liu Meng, a general of the Sungs. In the 8th year of Yung Ch'en (1730 A. D.), the government commanded the citizens to build the temple and sacrifice a sheep and a pig. In the 52nd year of Ch'ien Lung (1788 A. D.), an official, the Pu Chen Szi, rebuilt it and wrote the following record :

" The worship of Liu Meng has spread over the whole country. The origin of the cult is obscure, and all we know is that tradition says he was the god who drove away the locusts. I recently discovered by reading the Yi An Tsa Lu, that this god was the dead general of the Sungs, Liu Meng, a generous and brave man, able in civil as well as in military affairs. He was once in command of the Yangtze Valley, and in the reign of Shao Hsin (1131-1163 A. D.), he was in high favour. At the battle of Hsun Ch'ang he defeated the enemy though his own forces were greatly inferior in numbers. No one could stand against him ; and his mere name struck terror. He could command thunder and lightning, clouds and wind, so that the driving away of locusts showed but a small part of his power. Why should we wonder at it? It is written in the Shih Ching (the Book of Poetry) :

" The power of driving away insects is possessed by the god of T'ien Tzu. " And the Li I says.

" Those who could prevent great trouble and disaster may be worshipped. "

Now Kung (Liu Meng), fought hard while he was alive, keeping inviolate the territory intrusted to him. After his death he used his power to protect the fields from insects. He was able to do this because his bravery and righteousness could not be exaggerated. With him a hundred years of duty is performed as easily and faithfully as the duty of a day by others.

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" Kung defended the Yangtze Valley, and so his power is greater there. Wan (Anking), formerly had a temple to the god outside the East Gate, where the Fan Szi (an official), sacrificed in the old times, but it had long been forsaken and the temple was falling down. I contributed money and commanded the city magistrate to rebuild it. On its completion the Chung Ch'en worshipped there with his officials, and in that very year the locusts of Hsu Ch'en were killed by the rain. From this the power and kindness of the god are apparent. The officials of this place must perform their duty and sacrifice frequently in this temple. For this reason I wrote the history of the god, that future generations might do him honor. "

In the 6th month of the 4th year of Tao Kuang (1824), Su Chou, Huai Yuen and Ling Pi (Hsien cities), reported trouble with locusts. The governor, T'ao Hsu, prayed before the god and after a few days it was reported from Su Chou that the locusts had been eaten by numerous frogs, while at Huai Yuen the pests were destroyed by birds. The locusts in Ling Pi gathered near the Ma Shan Lake, and the magistrate sent out 4000 ducks, who ate up the insects. The Chung Ch'en reported this, and the emperor presented a Pien Eh (a wooden placque bearing a complimentary inscription), on which he himself wrote. " Shen Tsang Pin Pin " (The god has equal rank with other gods, he is just, helping the people). In this way he thanked the god for his kindness. The Ta Szi Lung, a native of Tan T'u, wrote a Yo Fu (rhymed essay), recording these things. The governor enlarged the temple and wrote the following record :

" In ancient times the Pa Chia were the cats, tigers, and certain animals which eat things harmful to man, just as cats and tigers eat dogs and pigs. In old records, we find that during the reign of K'ai Yuen (713-741), white birds ate the locuts at Pei Chou, and at P'ing Chou magpies were useful in the same way. During the reign of Ch'ien Yu (910 A. D.), there was another variety of bird, which destroyed locusts at K'aifeng. These things are told in the Yiu Yang Tsa Tsu and the Han Shih Lu, as well as in other books, such as the Chin Szi *(History of the Golden Tartars)*. O Ch'eh wrote in the Ting Wu Shan Tan Szi Kao as follows :

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" When Hsiao Hsiu was at T'ai Chou and Yuen Ch'en Tsung (1294-1307 A. D.), was at Yang Chou, the locusts of those places were eaten by birds. Frogs also eat locusts and, therefore, it was forbidden to kill frogs. "

" Again, in the Ch'in Ting Yuen Chien Lei Han, it is written ' In the Yangtze Valley it is the custom to worship frogs, because they eat insects. Although the K'uen Ch'ung (lower animals), eat insects, it is not by their own power, but by the power of the god. If men cannot control cats and tigers, how can they direct the actions of birds, frogs and such creatures? Surely it is the power of the god. '

" In the summer of the 4th year of Tao Kuang (1824 A. D.), the Fu official and the Taoyin gathered the inhabitants of Feng Yang to destroy the locusts, and when they were about to succeed new swarms appeared. In the seventh month I, the treasurer and the chief justice, prayed earnestly before Liu Meng. At that time Su Chou was covered with locusts and the Chih Chou had gathered the people to destroy the pests, when suddenly numberless frogs appeared and ate them up. Almost at the same moment thousands of birds gathered west of Huai Yuen, so that the locusts were destroyed in one day. After verifying this report I sent an account to the emperor. In reply his majesty wrote the words " Shen Tsan Pin Pin ", and asked me to put the inscription on a Pien Eh before the temple.

" Formerly the god had a temple (Tsi), by the river, outside the East Gate. It was built by decree in the 7th year of Yung Cheng (1729 A. D.). During the reign of Ch'ien Lung, the Fan Peh, Ch'en Pu Yiu, rebuilt it. Later it was destroyed by the river, and in the third year of Tao Kuang, I chose a place west of Shrai Tzi Ten, three li from the East Gate. The Yangtze ran close to the door and behind, the temple looked toward the Great Dragon Mountain, while small hills sheltered the sides. After I received the Pien from the emperor I enlarged the temple and improved the rites and ceremonies. Every year the Fan Szi worshipped there on the 13th of the 1st month, and the governor (Hsin Fu), with his officials sacrificed at Tung Chih (during the 11th month). This custom was begun during the Chou Dynasty (Before the 3rd century B. C.).

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" Because of the virtue of the emperor and the people, disaster comes but seldom, and even then it may be surmounted through the power of the gods. The *Book of Poetry* says, " There is a god of the fields who can prevent famine ". Although men also laboured to this end, they were inspired by the god, who thus showed his power. The coming of the birds and frogs was also caused by him. Since the god has revealed himself so clearly and fully, we must record his mercy that the memory of it may not be lost.

" In the Hsiang Lin Lu, it is said that the name of the god is Yun Chung, a native of Wu Ch'uan, who was appointed Chih Hui Szi near the end of the Yuen Dynasty. He often used his sword to drive away the locusts, who disappeared at once. Upon the downfall of the Yuen Dynasty he drowned himself (about 1360 A. D.), and afterwards became the Pa Chia. (If Liu Meng or Liu Yi was a man of the Sung Dynasty, his date would be about two hundred years before, 1137 A. D.).

" However, the Yi An Tsa Lu says, ' The Inspector General of the Yangtze and the Huai Valleys, Liu Yi, once drove away the locusts, and in the reign of Li Tsung (1224-1264 A. D.), was given the rank of Yang Wei Hou, T'ien Tsao Meng Chang '.

" Both traditions are to some extent true. The Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien a grees with the Hsiang Lin Lu, but the Pien before the temple is inscribed to Liu Meng Chang Chun. "

In the 16th year of Tao Kuang (1836 A. D.), the city magistrate, Yang Hsiao Ch'uen, worried so over a plague of locusts that he sickened and died. The governor reported this to the emperor, who issued a decree that Yang should receive sacrifices together with the Pa Chia.

The temple was destroyed by the T'ai P'ings and rebuilt again. In the 2nd year of the Republic (1913) the temple was destroyed by the people during a riot, and the next year the site was used for sacrifices to Heaven (T'ien). In the country the image of the Pa Chia is carried in procession to bless the fields.

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THE YO WANG (KING OF MEDICINE)

There are various gods of medicine and disease in China. The god of the Teh Fu An in Anking is Hua T'o, a physician of the Three Kingdoms, who offered to trepan the head of Tsao Tsao. Small shrines are often seen, both in the country and the city, to the Wu Ch'ang (Five Robbers), often mistaken for Earth Gods, who protect against the plague. The Goddess of Small Pox, the Goddess of Vaccination, the Goddess Who Helps Eye Diseases, and others, are very popular, and the Tung Yo Miao has an image of a God of Disease. These gods are always said to be beneficent, but I have my doubts about some of them. The principal cult of this kind in Anking is that of the Yo Wang, whose temple is the meeting place for physicians and dealers in drugs.

The practice of medicine in China and its relation to religion is an interesting subject, with which I am not competent to deal. Foreigners are apt to get a worse idea of Chinese medicine than is really the case, because there are no government regulations about entering the profession or practicing. There seem to be reputable and conscientious physicians, who pursue their profession honestly, in as able a manner and with as scientific a method as European physicians of two centuries ago. I doubt if anything they do is worse than blood letting, which used to be so common among us. But from these men there are various shades of practitioners, down to the ignorant Wu Yi, the spiritual descendants of the ancient exorcists. It is the methods of the latter which usually attract the foreigner's attention. For instance, one method of determining the correct medicine for a given disease is to carry an image of the god to the door of the sick man's house, where the bearers stand in a sort of trance, while the names of various medicines are read out. At the right name, they are seized by the god's spirit and lurch forward, and the medicine is promptly administered. It is obvious that such a practice would easily lend itself to fraud.

The Yo Wang Miao is in charge of several Buddhist monks, who have

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a very nice little temple of their own behind the main hall. The place is kept very clean add in good repair, for the guilds which support it contain intelligent and well-to-do men. As with all these gods, the birthday, on the 28th day of the 4th month, is the great festival. There do not seem to be any peculiar features in the worship, and I do not think the image of this god is carried from the temple, nor are gross customs connected with the cult. The following paragraphs are from a little book which seems to be a temple history.

"The Yo Wang was the son of a doctor, and his name was Sen Szi Miao. When he was young he studied and later practiced medicine. His father opened a medicine shop. It is said that a man once became sick and could not recover. At last he came to the shop for medicine. The father gave him some P'i Hsuan (arsenic), which is a fatal poison. The man took it home, boiled it, and the draught cured him.

" When the father died the son succeeded him. A man who thought of killing his son because of the latter's misbehaviour asked Sen for some poison. Sen, however, gave him Kan Tsao (liquorice root). The man carried it home, wondering how to administer it, when suddenly his glance fell upon a Lien Yu (fish), which had not yet been cooked. He then cooked the liquorice and the fish together and gave the mess to his son. Now the properties of liquorice and this kind of fish are opposite, and so in combination they cause death. When Sen heard of the death of the son he was greatly surprised. His father had cured a disease with poison and now he had caused death by giving a harmless herb. He was so affected that he decided to close his shop and burn everything in it. Having done this he travelled about the country, collecting medicines of various kinds, and keeping up his practice as a physician. In the mountains he once met a sick tiger. It had eaten a girl, and a pin from her dress stuck in its throat. Sen cured the animal, and in gratitude it followed him everywhere. Sen also healed a dragon, and these two beasts are always represented before his image.

" The queen of T'ang Ming Huang (713-756), became sick and the emperor's physician could do nothing for her. Sen had a wire fastened round her wrist and felt her pulse by holding the other end in the next room. This

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method was later called Chin Hsien Tiao Meh (taking the pulse by using a golden wire), and as Sen was able to cure her the emperor appointed him Yo Chung Chih Wang (king of all medicine), and gave him a red robe. All this may be seen in the temple."

THE TSAI SHEN (GOD OF WEALTH).

This seems to be a new cult, at least in this section of the country. There are three Tsai Shen Miao in the city, all mean and small affairs, but on the 5th of the 1st month everyone sacrifices to the god, and his image is often found in shops, where it is sometimes mistaken for that of Maitreya. No reference was made to the Tsai Shen Miao in the earlier editions of the Huai Ling Hsien Chih, and in the latest one, after a brief notice, the explanation is made, that in former days the worshippers of this god were so few that it was not worth while mentioning him. Now it seems to be a growing and popular cult. Whether there is any connection with Kuvera, the Hindu god of wealth, I cannot say.

THE T'U TI (EARTH GODS).

My personal opinion is that these local tutelary divinities are among the oldest gods in China, but it is extremely difficult to find out much about them, whether from real ignorance or reluctance, I do not know. The district of an Earth God is the area of a circle about ten Li (three miles), in radius. At the center is the shrine, usually placed near a road. It is simply a small roofed altar, open in front, with crude images of the god and his wife, the whole about ten feet square. The offerings seem to be the poles (Fan), already mentioned, paper and meat. The extremely primitive character of these gods seems to be shown by the fact that they are offered uncooked flesh. Sacrifices are paid them on digging a grave, building a house, and at other times. Their power does not extend beyond their district. It is impossible to say that they belong to any religion except animism, and they are probably the descendents of the classical Hsieh Chi, though these had no images, and the altars were open to the sky.

2:Shryock H-4, 5 (no date)1931 AF14 Central China AF14

APPENDIX 6

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GODS WORSHIPPED BY DIFFERENT GILDS.

Barbers. Lao tsu.

老祖

Fortune Tellers Hsiao Peh Hsuen.

蕭伯軒

Bankers, Cloth Merchants, Vegetable and Live Stock Dealers, and by merchants generally. The Tsai Shen (God of Wealth).

財神

Water Carriers. The Lung Wang.

龍王

Physicians and Medicine Dealers. The Yo Wang, Sen Szi Miao.

藥王 孫思邈

Fish Dealers. Hua T'o.

華陀

Carpenters and allied trades. Lu Pan.

魯班

Tailors. Hsien Yuen, or Huang Ti.

軒轅 黃帝

Cooks, Confectioners and Shoemakers. The Lei Tzu (Thunder God).

雷祖